



*Father of
Kashmiri Nation:
Shaheed Mohammad Maqbool Butt*

FROM BIRTH TO GALLOWS

ROSHNI KA SHAHEED AWWAL

(First Martyr for the light)

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**Published by: Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front,
Maqbool Manzil, Sgr.**





History is written by those who have hanged heroes

Few people have lived with dream even fewer ever have died for that dream. Such legends have often not found the right places in history. The reason is very simple, history is always written by those who have hanged heroes. Mohammad Maqbool Bhat is one such hero. People have not often even been properly acquainted with realities of life and death of such legends. Maqbool continues to be an unexplored hero. He burnt his house for a dream while others built their houses on their dreams.

With apparently all the ingredients needed for a successful life, after completion of education Maqbool Bhat could have settled for a normal life of comfort and luxury. He loved good living, but more than anything else, he loved dignity. For him, dignity could not have a personal meaning as long as his homeland remained denied of a collective dignity. He would often tell his friends. 'Freedom cannot be limited and compartmentalized. I do not mean freedom to be absolute, for absolute freedom is synonymous with anarchy and internal feuds. I, however, cannot be made to compromise on my basic belief of a complete freedom for my homeland'. It does not need much of rational analysis to look through the entire personality of the man who said these words. He was a freedom lover, a freedom fighter, but he all the same continues to be the dignified Kashmiri for whom nothing could be pure unless dignified with the spirit of freedom and independence. One cannot, but wonder as to why do life stories of heroes read so similar. There cannot also be any misgiving about the tragic fact that their lives have also followed the same pattern World wide. If dignity could not be attained during a lifetime, the heroes of nations have refused to exist in an undignified atmosphere. They have immortalized themselves by achieving dignity in death. Maqbool Bhat lived a dignified life, by fighting for dignity while alive and dying for it. Maqbool Sahib fought for changing both history and geography of his land. He refused to





accept the barriers erected in the name of partition or a communal divide. The glory of Maqbool Bhat lies in the fact that he was a loner. He had to convince an entire people that the cruelties of history and the mistakes of past leaders cannot enslave them for ever. He believed that the law of limitation cannot be applied to the basic human right of freedom.

Maqbool Bhat has the singular distinction of harboring a dream without any external motivation or favor. Truth, uprightness and unselfish pursuit cannot have many friends. He was fighting the war of a people that have been subjugated and tormented through centuries. Yet he knew that these very people had the longest history of independence when compared to both the countries around them.

As always happens, legends get recognition after the phenomenon has passed away. His brutal murder engineered through judiciary at the behest of a government that did not know how to handle the phenomenon, has light the torch that has been guiding thousands of freedom fighters in Kashmir. It is a miracle of his sacrifice that in a land where hardly anybody would go to jail facing the charge of having harbored the freedom dream, lacs of human beings laid down their lives for the attainment of Maqbool Bhat's dream. He did through death what millions cannot even think of doing during an entire life.

This book is perhaps not the only book written on Maqbool Butt. So many books have been written, but nothing in this part of Kashmir, this book is basically in urdu, with some pages in English. Any body who wants to know Maqbool well must read the urdu part also, as this part is much elaborated as compared to the english portion. We thank KRCC and www.maqboolbutt.com and all others who been helpfull in compiling this book.

*Many do not know where you are asleep.
There is no news, there is no grave
but for the millions inspired by you
you live in their hearts and minds."*

Mohammad Hussain Altaf





YASIN MALIK WRITES ON SHAHEED BABAI QUOM

He lives in our hearts
Mohammad Yasin Malik
(The Greater Kashmir)

I never met Maqbool Bhat. I never saw him, except his photographs. But still he always remained an inspiration for me - my leader. On every 11th February when Maqbool embraced gallows of Death in Tihar Jail, New Delhi, spring comes to me with renewed inspiration to continue the struggle - Goal seen by Maqbool gets more cemented in me. Spring is the time for renewal. Trees sprout new leaves and nature decks up in fresh greenery. Fresh ideas flourish so that tired human mind can thrive and enriched by new thoughts. This has a reason in my life. When I was arrested on August 6, 1990, I was bleeding profusely, blindfolded, tired and had not slept for two nights. I was shifted to unknown destination from Srinagar on August 8th. When the policemen removed the bandage from my eyes, I was told that I was in Tihar Jail's death cell, where Maqbool lived for years together. A middle aged jail constable, made sarcastic remarks to me, while comparing me to Maqbool saying. "You look so depressed and weak while your leader was just like an iron man, determined to do anything and always hale and hearty. This really pierced my heart and my weakness vanished. I pledged to follow Martyr Maqbool Bhat.

In Tihar Jail, I remember the first thing like any other Kashmiri, I asked for the grave of Maqbool Bhat. When I was shown the iron fenced area in the backyard of the jail, I asked the Jailer if I could visit the grave of my beloved leader - the Officer stood up and said in a coarse language. "It is a little too late for all this - don't you think so." I insisted that I have to visit his grave to pay my obeisance but he instead ordered his subordinates to take me away.

However, some of the jail mates were kind enough to show me the area from a distance. As I stood there - thanking my stars





to have seen the grave from a distance -, heavens opened and the water hammered down as I stood near the fence, where no one was allowed to go. But the rain water after touching the grave came towards me - I felt the ceria of air - the hissing bending nearby trees made me feel as if Maqbool was standing in front of me. I don't know why I started crying, tears rolling from my eyes mixed with the rain waters - I just kneeled down and offered Fateh.

I went back to my barrack and wept - wept quite loudly, and vowed that till we achieve the goal of independent Kashmir, we will not surrender. Over the time in jail, I acquired lot of knowledge about him - what he did in Jail, how friendly he was among the jail mates including employees of the Jail. One of the senior employees of the Jail described him as a perfect person who was meaningful in his ideas. He said he (Maqbool) spoke very less and some times it usually took strangers a while to notice him even when they were in same barrack. At meal time he ate very little and his food used to remain in front of him for hours together, which irritated the jail authorities. For observers he was numb as he remained always in a thought process but those who knew him said that how uneasy he felt in the chains. The flights of birds made him happy and he often used to say, "No power on earth can keep us slaves". Maqbool even today lives in every Kashmiri soul, in every Kashmiri house and will continue to live for centuries together. He is a legend, a hero to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. He was six feet tall with a strong intelligent face, a muscular body and brooding dark eyes. Witnesses tended to describe him as taller than he was a realist who understood the enormous odds against him, but a romantic ready to embrace death for what he believed.





Shaheed Baba I Quom Mohammed Maqbool Bhat.

From Birth to Gallows

. "I have no problem in accepting the charges brought against me except one correction. I am not an enemy agent. I am the enemy of the Indian state occupation in Kashmir. Have a good look at me and recognize me full well, I am the enemy of your illegal rule in Kashmir".

(Maqbool Bhat in an Indian court)

Birth and Childhood

Maqbool Butt was born on 18th February 1938 to a peasant family in Trahagam village of Kupwara. His father Ghulam Qadar Butt was a poor man who wanted to provide good education to his children. His mother died when Maqbool Butt was 11 years old. A student in the village's primary (junior) school. He had a younger brother Gulam Nabi Butt. His father Ghulam Qadar married again to provide mothering care to his children. From second wife he had two sons, Manzoor Ahmed Butt and Zahoor Ahmed Butt and three daughters. The early years of Maqbool Butt's life, like thousands of other Kashmiri children was shaped by the harsh living conditions that characterized the life of peasants at that time. It was the feudal system of Maharaja in Kashmir that forced Maqbool Butt to participate in the first political action of his life. Telling this story on 12 April 1972 from Camp Prison Lahore in a letter written in reply to Azra Mir, the daughter of veteran Kashmiri political activist and intellectual, G.M. Mir who was in prison with Maqbool Butt in relation to the hijacking of an Indian plane Ganaga', Maqbool Butt wrote:





"It was 1945 or 1946 when I was eight or nine years old. At that time Kashmir was ruled by the Dogra Family and the entire Kashmiri nation was living a life of slavery. One of the many forms of slavery is called feudalism. The feudalism gets established when the king allocates pieces of land to few people. Because these people are loyal to the king and help him in suppression and oppression of his riyaya (subjects) so they are made owner's of large landholdings for their services. These landholdings are called their jagirs; (estates). The Jagirdars (feudals) neither plough nor sow seeds in these lands. They do not put any labour in the land. Tilling, sowing and producing the crops are the jobs of the kisans(peasant). All Jagirdar does is that when the crops are ready, he appears in the fields and takes all the produce away, leaving minimal for the kisans. The Dogra rulers also had appointed jagirdars in our country. The peasants did all the labour but the owners of the lands and their produce were these very jagirdars. The owner of our regions' lands was a Jagirdar by the name of Dewan. Although we had never seen this jagirdar but his agents who were called Kardars (literally means 'making others work.') used to collect grains and fruits from the peasants. In the year this incident happened most of the crops were destroyed by the bad weather. Therefore the produce was next to nothing. Because of the low produce the peasants were not able to provide the jagirdar as much anaj (grains) as they used to provide previously. On this the Kardars of Jagirdar started harassing and beating up the peasants in the entire region. They raided the houses and grain stores of the poor peasants and lashed them. But the poor peasants had nothing to give to jagirdar. When the required amount of grains could not be collected, the Jagirdar himself came to our village in his motorcar. This was the first time that a motorcar came to our village and we were astonished to see it. The peasants of our village got together and pleaded before the jagirdar for some concessions. They told him in details the reasons for low production. But he was not prepared to believe the peasants.





He was persistent that, what come may, even if the children of peasants had to go hungry, his share of grains must be arranged. He also strongly advised his agents, kardars to complete the collection at any cost. These (Kardars) knew well that peasants did not have anything left to give to Jagirdar, but how could they deviate from his orders? So when Jagirdar was about to get in his car after issuing the instructions, all the village children were told to lie down in front of the jagirdar's motorcar. The Kardars were part of this plan. Therefore hundreds of children laid themselves down in front of the jagirdar's car. He was pleaded either to stop the further collection of grains or crush these starved and naked children under his car. I was also amongst these children and remember till this day that great hue and cry. The children as well as elders, all were crying knowing that once the jagirdar left the village without writing off the further collections, the peasants will have to face the qiyamat(the day of judgement). At last the jagirdar seeing the hue and cry of the naked and hunger worn yellowish children agreed to make some concessions.”

Further Education

After completing his secondary school, Maqbool Butt moved to St. Joseph College in Baramula. This was a private missionary college. Here he gained his first degree (BA) in history and political science.

Answering to a question about his college days from 1954 to 1958, in an interview with weekly 'Zindgi' (life) after the Ganga Hijacking in 1971, Maqbool Butt said:

“I was a good speaker. Used to call lot of strikes. Like most of Kashmiri citizens we also had great interest in Plebiscite Front. From the start we had a clear aim before us. One benefit of our strikes in the college was that the government took over the control of the college”.





Khawaja Rafiq in his book 'Safeer e Hurriyat' (the ambassador of liberation) writes that listening to the passionate and enthusiastic speeches of Maqbool Butt, the college principle Father Shankas said:

“This Youngman, if managed to pass through the hard times will become a great person. But these types of people usually face extreme difficulties in the society. The kind of freedom this type of youngsters demand is very hard to achieve. Subsequently, they get sacrificed on their way to freedom”.

Crossing the Divide First Time

The journey on that road to great sacrifice for Maqbool Butt started while he was still a student at St. Joseph College. Recalling his migration from one part of Kashmir to the other in an interview with weekly 'Zindgi' (life) after the Ganga Hijacking in 1971, Maqbool Butt said:

“In December 1957 the release of Sheikh Abdullah initiated a chain of agitation and political activities. My B.A. exams, where scheduled in March/April that year. The examination centre was in Srinagar. Authorities started arresting political activists and freedom fighters. My last paper was on 2nd of April and Sheikh was re-arrested on 27th March. Student, activists were chased and arrested. I was also an obvious target. Therefore, I went underground. After three months when the result came, I asked my father to go and bring the 'temporary certificate'. Then we came to Pakistan in August 1958. First we came to Lahore but in September 1958 settled in Peshawar”.

This journey changed the course of his life forever. According to Maqbool Bhat himself his decision to come to Pakistan was to get higher education and prepare himself for a long battle for azadi. Maqbool Butt was accompanied by his uncle Abdul Aziz Butt.





In Pakistan

First and foremost problem before Maqbool Butt in Pakistan was to continue his education and at the same time find a job to meet his expenses. For with out that "it was hard to live in Pakistan'. Therefore, I joined anjam' (end/conclusion/performance), a weekly magazine, as sub-editor and started my life as a journalist. I did my M.A. (from Pehswar university) in Urdu literature and worked with 'Anjam' till the start of full time politics in 1960 (Khawaja, 1997). Meanwhile his marriage was arranged by his uncle with a Kashmiri woman Raja Begum in 1961. He had two sons from this wife, Javed Maqbool born in 1962 and Shaukat Maqbool in 1964. In 1966 he married to a school teacher Zakira Begum and had a daughter Lubna Maqbool from her.

Politics

In 1961 Maqbool Butt contested and won the Kashmiri Diaspora seat from Pehsawar, Pakistan. In the 'Basic Democracy' elections introduced by the then president of 'Azad' Kashmir, Khurshid Hassan Khurshid, commonly known as K.H. Khurshid. Soon after that he campaigned for K.H. Khurshid in presidential elections and for GM. Lone in the Kashmir State council elections. Both of the candidates came out victorious on their respective positions. But when Pakistan started the operation Gibraltar by sending militants across the Indian occupied Kashmir to capture Kashmir, Maqbool Butt said farewell to the 'election' politics and offered his services to the Pakistani authorities but was rejected. This incident had radical affects on the political approach of Maqbool Butt. At this point there existed in Pakistan a 'Kashmir Independence Committee' (KIC) formed on 12th May 1963 by middle class Kashmiri activists including journalists, students, businessmen and lawyers to oppose the





proposals by the Pakistani and Indian foreign ministers for dividing Kashmir on communal lines. This committee was headed by the Kashmir State Council member G.M Lone who few years back Maqbool Butt campaigned for. After the end of India Pakistan talks without any conclusion the committee also became inactive.

Meanwhile inside 'Azad' Kashmir a 'United Front' of various political groups, voluntary organisations, shopkeepers associations and intellectuals got together to resist the construction of Mangla Dam paved the way for the pro-independence politics. In April 1965 the political activists from 'Azad' Kashmir and members of KIC got together and crossed into Suchetgarh, a Kashmiri village inside the Indian occupied areas of Jammu near the Pakistani city of Sialkot, and formed the 'Jammu Kashmir Plebiscite Front. Maqbool Butt was elected as Publicity Secretary for this first pro-independence political organization. It was this organization which later gave birth to most of the pro-independence groups on the Pakistani controlled side of the division line including Jammu Kashmir National Liberation Front (NLF) headed by Maqbool Butt and Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (Britain) led first by Abdul Jabbar Butt etc.

This was the time when several national liberation struggles were active across the globe. Maqbool Butt along with many other Kashmiris in Plebiscite front was also very much inspired by these struggles particularly those in Algeria, Palestine etc. Maqbool Bhat presented a proposal to adopt armed struggle before the working party meeting of PF on 12th July 1965 in Mirpur but this proposal was not accepted by other members. However, Maqbool Butt, Mir Abudl Qayyum, a Kashmiri migrant from Jammu settled in Pakistan and a middle class businessman, and Major (R) Amanullah from Highhama town of Kashmir who fought in the world war and served in the Indian National Army of Subash Chander Bose and also participated in the Azad Kashmir war of 1947 And





Amanullah Khan, secretly formed 'The Jammu Kashmir National Liberation Front' (NLF) on 13th August 1965 at the residence of Major Amanullah in Peshawar. The aim of this organization was written down in just one sentence, “including armed struggle using all forms of struggle to enable the people of Jammu Kashmir State to determine the future of the State as sole owners of their motherland” (Khan, 1992, p.112).

First Crossing Back to IHK (INDIAN HELD KASHMIR)

For the next ten months this group of four recruited more people into the ranks of NLF including GM Lone (the vice president of peplebisite front) and on 10th June 1966 the first group of NLF members secretly crossed over to the Indian occupied Kashmir. Maqbool Butt, Aurangzeb, a student from Gilgit, Amir Ahmed and Kala Khan, a retired subedar (non commissioned officer from AJK force) went deep into Valley while Major Amanullah and subedar Habibullah remained near the division line. The former were to recruit Kashmiris in the IOK into NLF while the later were responsible for training and weapon supply. Maqbool Butt along with three of his group members worked underground for three months and established several gorilla cells in IOK (Indian occupied Kashmir)

However, after about three months the Indian intelligence agencies came to know about the underground activities and started a big operation to capture these activists. In an encounter with the soldiers one of the NLF members Aurganzeb from Gilgit got martyred and Kala Khan received injuries. Eventually Maqbool Butt and two of his comrades, Kala Khan and Amir Ahmed were arrested. Commenting on this incident later Maqbool Butt said that this was not a staged operation. “We were still in organizational





phase and were not fully prepared for taking the risk of clashing with authorities. The risk of clash should only be taken when you are able to invite the enemy for that. We were arrested and tried. The government of the occupied Kashmir wanted the case to be dealt in a military court and finish us off. But the case was heard in civil court for two years (Khawaja op. cit. p.248). The verdict was given in August 1968. We were three people in total. Two were given death (Maqbool Butt and Amir Ahmed) and one (Kala Khan) life sentences. Our comrades from the occupied Kashmir were given a jail sentence from three months to three years. Nearly three hundred people were arrested including students, engineers, teachers, contractors, shopkeepers and government employees. They belonged to all parties including Plebiscite Front, etc.

Escape from Prison

Soon Maqbool Bhat started planning escape from the prison and within a month and half managed to escape from the prison in Srinagar. Maqbool Butt later wrote in detail about the escape and submitted that before the Special Trial Court in Pakistan where he was tried along with other NLF members for 'Ganga' hijacking. However, only a brief account of the story of his escape is included here from one of his interviews:

“On 22nd October 1968 we started planning to escape from the prison and after one and a half month of intense planning we managed to put this plan to practice on 8th December 1968 at 2:10 am by breaking the prison wall. Two of us were on death sentence and the third one with us was a prisoner from Azad Kashmir. It took us 16 days to reach to the first border check post of Azad Kashmir. We reached to Muzaffarabad on 25th December and were interrogated in the interrogation centre of Muzaffarabad till March 1969”.
(Full story is included in urdu portion of this book).





Answering a question about their arrest in Azad Kashmir, Maqbool Butt said:

“What can I say about that? It was the government of Ayub Khan (in Pakistan) and what can I say about Ayub Khan. This man neither had the welfare of the Pakistani people at his heart nor of the Kashmiris. His government was very cruel to us. I was severely tortured while in the concentration camp. The pain increased with the thought that this was done to us by our own (Khawaja op. cit. p249).

They were released on 8th March 1969 when PF, NLF and National Students Federation (NSF) activists staged demonstrations in Islamabad. In November 1969 the annual convention of Plebiscite Front was held in Muzaffarabad where Maqbool Butt was elected as its president. While recognizing the set back of the premature exposure of NLF in the IOK, Maqbool Butt was of the opinion that the above incident inspired and motivated more Kashmiris to join the armed struggle. Explaining this point in the above interview he says 'now we have entered in a new phase. Not only are we able to speak in the language of power that is the only language India understands, but also are able to make the world community, which has ignored our existence, to recognize us. In this world you have to have your existence recognized. We have our existence recognized and we will rest only when the existence of the entire Kashmiri nation is recognized, Inshallah.’

After being elected as the president of PF Maqbool Butt spent next few years in campaigning for the political rights in Gilgit Baltistan and 'Azad' Kashmir. The focus of campaign on this side was the 1970 Azad Kashmir Act that turned 'Azad' Kashmir into a colony of Pakistan, ruled through the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and the Chief Secretary. This Act also reduced the 'Azad Kashmir' to 4500 Square miles area and separated it from the rest of the state of Kashmir. In Gilgit Baltistan the situation was even worse. These parts of the State





were directly controlled by Pakistan through a political agent. The Pelebisite Front launched a week long programme to highlight this situation and announced that next convention of PF will be held in Gilgit. During this week PF activists including Maqbool Butt, Khaliq Ansari, Mir Qayyum, Amanullah Khan and GM Mir were arrested and forcefully exiled from the State boundaries.

The Ganga Hijacking

The event that brought Maqbool Butt and the Kashmir Issue in limelight in Kashmir, South Asia and at international level was the hijacking of an Indian Fokker plane 'Ganga'. There are several official and common theories about the background and impacts of this hijacking which can not be discussed here, Therefore only a brief account is presented below.

Ganga, an Indian airliner was hijacked on 30 January 1971 at 1305 hours while on its routine flight from Srinagar to Jammu. In total it was carrying 30 people including four crew members. The Hijackers were two young Kashmiris Hashim and Ashraf Qureshi. They brought the plane to Lahore airport and demanded the release of about two dozen, political prisoners of NLF in the Indian prisons. On February the 1st 1971 all the passengers and crew were sent back to India via Amritsar and the 'Ganga' was set on fire. This incident was later used by India to suspend the over flights of Pakistani aircrafts over Indian Territory. The hijackers and Maqbool Butt under whose instructions hijackers said the hijacking was carried out, were firstly praised as heroes and freedom fighters but after the defeat of Pakistani army in Bangladesh Maqbool Bhat and hundreds of other members of NLF were arrested, interrogated in Shahee Qila Lahore and 'Dulahee Camp' Muzafrabad. By this military authorities in Pakistan tried to put blame of their defeat on Kashmiris. Later six of





them were tried in a Special Court of Pakistan under the charges of collaboration with the Indian intelligence services. They were Maqbool Butt, G.M. Lone, Mir Abdul Qayyum, Mir Abdul Manan and the two hijackers Hashim Qureshi and Ashraf Qureshi.

According to Khawaja (p.132) Maqbool Butt was charged under the 'Enemy Act 1943' of the Indian Penal Code. Ironically he was tried under the same colonial Act by the Indian Government in 1966 in the Indian Occupied Kashmir. The case started in December 1971 and after a long trial in which 1984 prosecuting and 1942 defense witnesses were called was concluded in May 1973. All but Hashim Qureshi were cleared of all charges other than dealing with arms and explosives etc. Hashim Qureshi was sentenced for fourteen years imprisonment. The long statement of Maqbool Butt submitted to a Pakistani court in this case is perhaps the most detailed reflection of his political ideology. While detailed statement is also included in this book a brief quote from this statement would not be out of place here:

"I can say without any hesitation that I have not designed any conspiracy nor have I been a part of any group of conspirers. My character has always been transparent and unambiguous. However, I have done one thing and that is the rebellion against ignorance, greed of wealth, exploitation, oppression, slavery and hypocrisy. If the ruling class of Pakistan that is a product of imperialism and represented by the bureaucracy and military dictatorship of this country views this as conspiracy then I have no hesitation in accepting the charge". It will be interesting to note here that Ganga Case was carried out under special presidential orders of the then president of Pakistan Yahya Khan according to which the accused were denied the right to appeal against the decision of this Special Court. Despite many requests and protests in Azad Kashmir and Pakistan, the right to appeal for Ganga accused was not accepted. According to Mir Qayyum, in a conversation with





the founding president of PF and veteran Kashmiri independence activist Abdul Khaliq Ansari who is also a renowned lawyer in 'Azad Kashmir', the then law minister of Pakistan Mehmood Ali Qasuri said 'where in the world do you have the right to appeal against the Supreme Court decision?' In response Khaliq Ansari asked 'and where in the world the Supreme Court has ever been used as 'Trial Court'?

According to Mir Abdul Qayyum, the right to appeal was restored only after the British Kashmiris warned several Pakistani ministers on their visits to Britain that the unlawful tactics of the Pakistani rulers to convict these Kashmiris will be exposed (Mir Qayyum, unpublished documents of NLF). Using this right NLF filed appeal against the Special Court's decision about Hashim Quereshi. But it took seven years before this appeal was heard at Supreme Court where Hashim was also cleared (Khawaja op. cit. p.151).

In terms of Kashmir, the 'Ganga' trial had many far reaching affects on the NLF and on the wider independence politics. Firstly it affectively paralyzed NLF who lost many members due to physical torture, psychological pressure and financial losses. Many also became disillusioned and disappointed. Maqbool Butt however continued his efforts to reorganize the struggle in both the armed and political fields. In 1975 the PF decided to participate in the elections held under the Bhutto's Peoples Party Government. Maqbool Butt who at this point had no office responsibility in PF also contested the elections. All PF candidates, including Maqbool Butt, lost to PPP candidates. These results had a lot to do with massive vote riggings in favor of PPP candidates.





The Last Crossing

With NLF dismantled and PF demoralized, Maqbool Butt once again crossed over to the Indian occupied Kashmir against the advice of many of his friends and comrades in May 1976. This time he went with Abdul Hammed Butt and Riaz Dar. Within a few days of crossing they were spotted and arrested by the Indian forces. In 1978 the Indian Supreme Court restored death sentence on Maqbool Butt and he was transferred to Delhi's Tihar Prison. After eight long years in prison Maqbool Butt was hanged on 11th February 1984. While the legal team was waiting for Maqbool Butt's case to be Re-opened on the grounds of flaws in the trial that convicted Maqbool Butt of murder. His execution was carried out in haste to avenge the killing of an Indian diplomat in Birmingham by an unknown group 'Kashmir Liberation Army'. Ravindra Mahatre was kidnapped in the first week of February 1984 from his Birmingham office by KLA who demanded among other things the release of Maqbool Butt. Thus was ended the life of one of the greatest revolutionaries of modern Kashmiri history whom Kashmiris remember as Shaheed e Azam (the greatest martyr) and Baba I Quom (Father of Kashmiri nation) Ironically, death warrants of Maqbool Butt were signed by Dr Farooq Abdullah the then Chief Minister of IOK who spent several days with Maqbool Butt in 'Azad' Kashmir and Pakistan in 1974 and who said later that 'I have found Maqbool Butt a very romantic man, just like Che Guevara.

An Imprisoned Martyr in the world's largest democracy

India is acclaimed by the democratic world as the largest democracy on earth. While there is no doubt that democratic traditions and institutions in India are far more established, when it comes to Kashmir India is no more than an occupier and oppressive state that rules Kashmir through





colonial like structures and authoritarian means with little regards for the democratic values, human rights and civil liberties. This neo-colonial face of Indian rule in Kashmir was demonstrated in its worst form in the way Maqbool Butt was hanged and what followed.

Not only that Maqbool Butt was executed in revenge, no one was allowed to see him before execution and he was buried inside the prison premises after execution. Maqbool Butt's sister says 'we went at the Srinagar airport to catch flight for Delhi but the police did not let us go'. His niece tells 'they did not return any of his belongings from Thiar'. I wish they let us have some soil from his grave in the prison'

Despite the confidence building measures and ceasefire between the Indian and Pakistani armies in Kashmir the repeated demands by Kashmiris for the return of Maqbool Butt's remains are not responded to and this icon of Kashmiri liberation struggle is kept in prison even after his execution. The only other example of this kind of disregard for human rights of political activists comes to mind is that of Baghat Singh, Sukh Dev and Raj Guru whose bodies were also not returned to their families by the British colonial authorities after execution.

There are two other graves waiting for the body of Maqbool Butt. One in the martyrs' cemetery in Srinagar's old Eidgah where its tombstone has inscription in green Urdu letters that read "this is where Shaeed e Azam[(the greatest martyr) Maqbool Butt will one day be laid to rest'. Another grave for Maqbool Butt is between the graves of his brothers in the courtyard of the house where he was born in Trahagam.

This unique situation about the burial of Maqbool Butt was nicely depicted by Mohammed Yamin, a Kashmiri poet from 'Azad' Kashmir in his poem 'Roashni Ka Shaeed e Awal' (the first martyr for the light) that is now juxtaposed on a large





portrait of Maqbool Butt and hangs on the front room walls of many pro independence Kashmiris across AJK and Diaspora from this part of Kashmir.

*Kahaan Tu Soya Khabar Nahee
Khabar Nahee Qabar Nahee
Magar yeh bandey nisar terey
Karror dil hein mazar terey*

*Many do not know where you are asleep
There is no news, there is no grave
But for the millions inspired by you
You live in their hearts and minds*

Statement of Shaheed baba I quom Maqbool Bhat before a special court in Pakistan

Call it a coincidence or tyranny of the conditions, I have to stand today in this special court under a special order to defend the charges which are baseless and false. More appropriately these charges are the creation of a mind that is enemy of the freedom of my country and a cruel joke with the people of Jammu and Kashmir who are fighting for liberation. History has given the verdict against those conditions and self-acclaimed rulers of Pakistan who have made me stand in this witness box. This verdict of history is so clear that no further explanation is needed. It has drawn a clear line between us and our hypocrite opponents. I take this proceeding as a compliment for myself and my comrades as future generations will have no confusion about our identity.

Thus this command of Quran has proven true about this group of hypocrites: "And when they meet Muslims they say we have become believers and when they are alone with their Satans then say no doubt we are with you. We are just taking the fun. Allah takes the fun of them and develops their imprudence. Fact is that they have no vision." (Al-Quran)





By the crime this group is committing against the oppressed people, it was inevitable that they should trap themselves in a situation where they are unable to escape. I have neither prepared any conspiracy, nor been a part of any such group. My role is clear all the way through. However it is true that I have rebelled against obscurantism, slavery, capitalism, exploitation, corruption, cruelty, and hypocrisy. If the ruling classes of Pakistan, which is a product of imperialist system and is represented by the civil and military bureaucracy, call it conspiracy then I have no hesitation to accept it.

For me this case against us is not unusual at all. During human history whenever exploitation and slavery are challenged the ruling classes have always relied on the word 'conspiracy'. But the history proves that in the fight of oppressed against oppressors, eventually the former won and the oppressive structure is crushed by the revolutionary struggle of the people. I have disliked self-praise but now when my role is being distorted, deliberately, I am forced to claim that at every stage of my life, I have not only supported the people's struggle against exploitation and oppression but always actively participated in it.

I have consciously chosen this role for myself because I see it as sunnah of prophets and is a way of revolutionaries. I have no doubt about the success of this role and the welfare it brings for the people. I can not refrain from bringing this fact in the notice of this court that apparently only six persons are made involved, but the actual motive of this case is to crush our liberation movement.

Pakistani bureaucracy should know that no matter what turn our fate takes as a result of this case, they will achieve nothing but disgrace and failure, as for as their actual motive is concerned. If the struggle for freedom was to be stopped by the court rulings there would have been hardly any free nation on earth today. If the evolution of civilization,





democracy and freedom was to be prevented by the existing judicial or administrative system no revolution would have taken place from the beginning of history. Decisions about the movements for welfare and freedom of people are not made in the existing courts, but the evolutionary process of human history gives the verdict of these movements. For the courts themselves are the product of that system these movements aims to change.

It is for this reason that in some cases verdict given by these courts as present are proven meaningless and relinquished. It is not possible here to give details of all those conspiracies made against my country and my people. However it is imperative to highlight those aspects of these conspiracies that are exploited to construct this case.

This is not done by the unmistakable enemies of our people but by the imprudent and wicked 'friends' who have despicably occupied the power in this unfortunate country and have subjugated not only a hundred million of her people but also put its existence at stake by their malicious actions for keeping power in their hands. It is obvious that a leadership which has no sympathy for its own people cannot be hoped that it will extend any friendship to a nation which is still fighting against foreign occupation.

No one can stop men from claiming that every ruling power in Pakistan has exploited the Kashmir issue for last 25 years for its lust for power and abused this issue to mislead the people of Pakistan who have and still do support the freedom of Kashmir. When power came into the hands of military dictatorship this conspiracy has become even more dreadful. Division of Pakistan is only a logical result of this conspiracy.

This is said that a conflict was started from the day NLF was formed; between our struggle and the bureaucracy and military dictatorship of this country. The





roots of this conflict are in the disagreement on aims and strategy. Military rulers of this country never liked our concept of armed struggle. Not only they did not like it, they always tried to crush any such struggle.

The story of such conspicuous incidents is too long to cover here in detail but it was never come to a stage of branding us as enemies of this country, this time chosen by the military dictators to declare us enemy of the country was that when they were giving the final touches to their conspiracy.

It was last week of February 1971. In the President's house in Rawalpindi, the dictators were planning to prevent the transfer of power to the elected members of 130 million people. From its formation to 24 February 1971, no faction of rulers ever suspected it or its activities, including Ganga Hijacking. However, as part of their conspiracy, the rulers decided to use NLF and Ganga Hijacking on false grounds to justify their anti-people and anti-democracy designs.

The initial instructions were issued from President's House Rawalpindi. Inter Services Intelligence Bureau was ordered to investigate the hijacking case and keep the freedom fighters away from public and press. They should be transferred to a distant location. Responding to our enquiry we were told that country is in a crisis. To solve the conflict with Mujeebu'r- Rehman on constitutional matters we need the nation to be calmed on Kashmir issue.

We were also told that Shiekh Mujeeb is for friendly with India and does not like to promote any confrontation. For we did not want political crisis of Pakistan to be worsened, we co-operated and agreed on freedom fighters' transfer to Tanda Dam, district Kohat. Only a few days later the proposed meeting of national assembly was postponed. Hence the crisis was intensified. What happened in East Pakistan after the declaration of former military dictator was pre-planned. Sheikh Mujeeb was invited for negotiations with former President in Rawalpindi. When he refused, Another





declaration was released in March 71 from President's House that former President was going to Dhaka for negotiations. Just one day before, Yahya Khan's departure for Dhaka, it was announced by the foreign office that hijacking case will be investigated. Replying to our queries we were told that this is to decrease the bitterness during Yahya -- Mujeeb negotiations where it is inevitable that Mujeeb, who has already demanded an enquiry into hijacking, will raise this issue.

We were also told that international pressure on Pakistan is also increasing and to prove that Pakistan is not involved in the hijacking we need such measures. We were assured that if necessary, a commission will be formed but it is likely that this stage will not come.

The commission was appointed at the time when Yahya -Mujeeb negotiations entered into concluding stage. The impression was given that the commission is nothing more than an eye-wash. Actual motives were to come out only on 27 March 1971 when military operation was started in East Pakistan.

Only two days after this commission has started its proceedings as well. Among the three members of the commission, two were from the intelligence department and the third Mr. Rahat Chhattari was the one whose services were terminated by the first elected government of this country under the allegation of corruption.

This chain of events shows that this case had special motive which can be nothing but the search for the justification for civil war situation in which the country was brought by the military dictators. The report compiled by the commission according to the wishes of the rulers has fulfilled their need. We were arrested on 14 April, six days before the report was presented to the President.

And to crush our struggle, mass arrests were made, memories of which are terrifying. But these rulers who were overwhelmed by the lust of power could not understand that lie





is bound to be defeated. The 'nature' did not take long to give its verdict. The rulers reached their logical end before making us scapegoats.

It is easy to talk about freedom. But it needs a lot more courage and patience to fight for freedom. This is the path where every turn is full of tests. You go through such stages where your own friends on whom you relied, don't want to know you for their vested interests. They, even, leave you and make alliances with enemies.

Struggle is the best criteria to judge not only who is for and against the truth, but also to expose the hypocrites. It is not for freedom fighters to complain about the difficulties they face but in our defense personally I have gone through three stages of state torture; first in occupied Kashmir, then in "Azad Kashmir" and finally in Royal Fort (Shahi Qillah) Lahore, which is the remains of colonial era. As time is not sufficient to go into the details, I would give a brief account. At all three places the purpose of torture was completely different. In Indian occupied Kashmir, occupying officers were looking for facts about our movement and about me. In Muzaffarabad, "Azad Kashmir" the FIU (Federal Intelligence Unit) was not looking for facts, but they wanted me to confirm their assumptions and Gestapo's. In Lahore Fort they were torturing me to tell utter lie and to give a false statement as part of their conspiracy.

Only the administrative machinery of the oppressive rulers of this country could have done what was done to us to distort the facts and to construct the stories and characters. Some details of the torture, of which we were subjected in Lahore fort, are given by my comrades in their written statements. But there was a lot more done in the Fort. The fact is that some details are so shameful that it is not possible to bring them in writing. I leave the decision about what happened in Shahi Qillah (Royal Fort) for the Day of





Judgment.

Whatever ruling is made by this court, I can clearly see that it cannot do justice in this case. It is not that I do not trust this court, but it is the self-constructed nature of the allegations made against us, for they can't be defended in existing conditions. The false nature of these allegations cannot be proved until my country is divided. However, it is my faith that the dawn of freedom will fall on my country and the line of division will be trodden. This will be the time when facts about my life will come out. Only then I will get justice and this will be done in the court of history. That day my people will know the reality of the allegations, by both the Indian and Pakistani rulers against me, of being an agent of India or Pakistan.

During the examination this court has enquired about the suspicions shown by FIU Major. Naseer Gul, in his report about my escape from Srinagar prison. Having read this report in full, I maintain that it is totally against the facts and nothing more than a biased view of a military officer.

All contradictions, which this 'expert' intelligence officer has pointed out, are rooted not in my account of escape, but in his views about peoples' armed struggle. Products of colonialism, Generals hate the concept of peoples' army because it challenges the monopoly of General's on military resources. It is a historical fact that military dictators never supported any organization engaged in liberation war.

On the contrary, they made contacts with the enemies of freedom fighters. During martial regimes, the armed struggles of Palestine, Algeria .Vietnam and other African countries were presented as negative. The military rulers of Pakistan never supported a peoples' armed struggle in Kashmir. They hated it as much as the Muslims of early period hated pig meat. It is this hate of military rulers towards peoples' armed struggle, which has made me and my comrades the target of brutal torture and humiliations.





Finishing here, I would like the court to fulfill its duty which has been given to it under a special order. At present I have no other choice but to give myself in the merciless hands of time and to wait for the day when the darkness of discrimination and malice, cruelty and exploitation will be replaced by the light of justice. That day I will ask for justice.

Shaheed Baba I Quoms hanging was a judicial killing.

Interview with an advocate on the execution of Shaheed Maqbool Butt

Note: Advocate Bashir Ahamed Butt from Srinagar, who had close association with the defense counsels of Maqbool Butt, had tried to procure Maqbool Butt's file from the High Court and held meetings with Butt Sahib in the jail, has made some comments in Nepal in 1990 on Butt Sahib's Execution.

"I had the chance of examining the file of Butt Sahib in which we found a technical snag. The file didn't contain original death certificate. An application submitted by Maqbool Butt Sahib to the then High Court judge, Neel Kanth Ganju, for grant of permission for another lawyer of his choice instead of Ghulam Ahmed Advocate, was not found. Upon minute checking, we found fake page-marking, first page-marking was removed for the fake one which clearly shows that Butt sahib's application was removed from the file. We consulted special prosecutor, Ali Mohammad Vatali who later on retired as DIG Kashmir. When asked about the removal of the page, Vatali confirmed it. Again, we asked him that it was an important legal point to be raised in Supreme Court. He maintained that the original death certificate was not on the file and he was speaking the truth in order to save an innocent life. For almost six months we didn't open the file, and then advocate Pathak came to Srinagar and I brought him the file. I proceeded to Delhi with Pathak where I heard that Liberation Army men had abducted Mahatre and





they were demanding release of Maqbool Butt Sahib. Ghulam Nabi Hagru was pleading this case but was not getting the file. So I promised to get it. Ghulam Nabi Butt also told me that Muzaffar Beg was also pleading the case. I think if properly looked into and studied since 1976; the situation would have been different.

Q. Are you sure that it was mentioned in the petition that original death sentence certificate was missing?

A. When we appeared in the court, Mahatre had already been abducted. There were three senior lawyers, namely Mr. Ramesh Patak, Mr. Kapil Sibal and Mr. Muzaffar Beg who raised this point before the court that original death certificate was missing from the file. The then Chief, Justice Mr. Y.P. Chanderachud got annoyed and said, "I will never believe the government tells lies and they fabricated the document. I will never..... and he threw away the file."

Q. Do you believe that had not Mahatre been kidnapped and killed, the Chief Justice would have heard the petition in a sober mind and in conformity with the law of the land?

A. The news appeared in papers about the cabinet decision that India will never bow before the pressure of kidnappers. It makes one believe that the Chief Justice was under political pressure to grant death sentence. That is why without studying the file, he gave verdict in one minute, which is an abnormal practice in a Supreme Court. Normally, such cases are intensively debated for days together before the verdict is given and the precedent is on record in Indra Gandhi murder case.

Q. Are you sure of it in terms of legal strength of the case or that you are just moved by your emotions?

A. This I say as a lawyer. Death penalty can't be carried out when there is no original death sentence certificate. Supreme Court had sent the case back to the High Court on this ground and we were sure that Butt Sahib would be saved from capital punishment.





Q. Once more I ask you whether, as a lawyer, you believe that the death sentence was upheld because of Mahatre kidnapping.

A. As a lawyer I assert that the point we had raised in the petition was quite valid and legal and it was impossible to carry out the execution but for Mahatre's kidnapping combined with political pressure made the Chief Justice uphold the sentence.

Q. Is it in Indian constitution that the death sentence cannot be carried out until decision in second murder case against the same accused is delivered?

A. Legally, yes. The first decision cannot be implemented till the decision in second case is given. It is out of my understanding that how Indian Supreme Court did it. Surely they did it because of Mahatre issue.

Note: In the light of what is stated above, it is a fact that the entire case of execution of Maqbool Butt is a dark spot on the name of Indian judiciary.

(Country www.maqboolbutt.com)





3 TIMELESS LETTERS OF MAQBOOL BUTT

To Azra Mir (daughter of G.M. Mir, the former president of NLF who now lives in Mirpur), from Camp Prison, Lahore Pakistan, dated 2nd April, 1973

*In the name of ALLAH, Most gracious, Most merciful
Dear Azra Beitee (daughter), May god always protect you.*

Assalam u alaikum

Your younger sister Rubina visited me on 26th March with your auntie (Maqbool Butt's wife) and gave me your letter. As we were transferred from Kamel pur Prison to Camp Prison Lahore, it took me a little longer to write back to you. Although we were imprisoned here on a previous occasion but still the change caused various problems which kept me from writing to you earlier. Having read your views, I cannot explain in words how admirable and esteemed they were. Your letter shows that God has gifted you with the wealth of sensitivity at this young age. This is a great gift. After reading your letter, I could not help thinking how sensitive you are and how much you are alert about the difficulty we are currently going through. I prey to God that he increase's your power of imagination and understanding and enrich the strength of feelings you have about our enslaved nation. May Allah enable you to become a daughter of Kashmir we could take pride in? Dear Azra, I am aware that the problems we are experiencing have hurt you. I know that you have directly felt the pain and torture of imprisonment we experienced because your father (GhulamMohammed Mir) was with us during the stormy period. Your father's imprisonment brought the innocent faces of you and Rubina before my eyes, like two flower buds. I did fear that the wave of torture and Oppression brought upon





us may depress you two. I remember the days when you and Rubina used to play with Papu (Javed Maqbool Butt) and Kaku (Shaukat Maqbool Butt) in the pleasant environment of Abbottabad, unaware all the issues around you. Who else can bear the sight of tears in the beautiful eyes of innocent children like you, but those heartless enemies of our movement? The helplessness you felt out there kept us restless here inside the prison walls. But we faced every form of torture with the belief that this (new) challenge we are facing may temporarily deprive you of the love and affection you need but it will ultimately bring revolution to your thinking. That is exactly what has happened. Your letter has strengthened this belief of mine. Now, let me explain to you how oppression affects the children of those who fight against it as opposed to those who are the oppressors. The children of the oppressors see the oppression around them but remain indifferent, whereas the children of Mujahids (freedom fighters) do not tolerate oppression. They feel the pain and wish to fight against oppression. The children of oppressors are provided with all the luxuries and comfort of the world, they have plenty to eat, (wear) expensive clothes and live in luxury houses but the children of Mujahids are not attracted to these kinds of luxuries and comfort. They get satisfaction from struggling against the system of oppression. That gratification and satisfaction cannot be experienced with worldly wealth, expensive clothes or luxurious houses. That is why Mujahideen children prefer a day of freedom to a life of luxuries without any freedom. My dear child, the children of all the enslaved nations in the world not only have to suffer the oppression and suppression by tyrants, but also have to fight shoulder to shoulder, with their elders for freedom (from it). Slavery is such an evil where no discrimination is made between children, young and old. In slavery (situations) children are also affected by the torture and misery endured by their elders. I will tell you a few incidents from history, which spells the hardship some children





in our country had to suffer because of forced subjugation. It was around 1945 or 1946 when I was 8 or 9 years old. At that time the Dogras ruled Kashmir and the whole of Kashmiri nation was living under slavery conditions. One of the cruel forms of slavery is the feudal system. In this system the ruler or the king distributes Land amongst his loyalists, who in turn become an instrument in carrying out the oppressive measure against ordinary people for him. It is this service which is awarded by the rulers through land distribution. These lands or fields are called Jagirs. The Jagirdars, the owners, do not offer any labour or till the fields. The work of tilling, seeding, growing the crops is done by the local peasants. All a Jagirdar does is to appear at the harvest time and take all the produce leaving a minute quantity for the peasants to live on. This Jagirdari system existed in our country during the Dogra rule too. The poor peasants had to do all the hard work but the landowner would take all the produce. The landowner in our area was called Divan, whom we had seldom seen. There were his agents called kardaar, whose job it was to collect grain and fruits etc once produced by the farmers. The year I am talking about had crops were poor due to bad weather. This left the farming families with very little to give to the Divan. Having given away all the produce it did not mount up to the usual season's quantity, which brought the whole area under the wrath of his agents. They started a series of crackdowns on the houses and stores of the poor peasants and many were whipped. When it did not produce results the Divan himself came to our village in a motorcade. This was the first time ever a motorcade came to our village. We were all amazed to see it. All the farmers in our village got together and pleaded before him for concession. They told him in detail the reasons for the low harvest but he did not believe them. He insisted upon having his usual share of the crops even if it meant that the children of the peasants had to starve to death.





He also expressed his anger towards his agents and strictly instructed them to extract the full share. These agents knew very well that the peasants were left with nothing to be given to the Divan. But had no courage to argue with their master. As the jagirdar went to his car after giving instructions all the children of the village were told to lie down on the road in front of the car by their elders. The kardaar was also part of this plan. Hundreds of village children lied down in front of the Jagirdar's car and pleaded for concession and to write off the extra share or drive over them. I was one of those children and remember to this day the fear and chaos that ruled us. Everyone, young and old was in tears. They knew that if jagirdar left without giving concessions their lives would be made hell. Eventually, the jagirdar agreed to some amendments to his final decision. This is just one incident that can give you some idea of the miserable conditions we the children of the poor Kashmiri peasants suffered during that period of slavery. Majority of our people were and still are peasants who suffer similar situations all around. They were forced to leave the country in search for work in the plains of Pakistan and India mainly in Punjab where they were referred to as Hattoos (luggage carriers). They used to work there for six months in a year and make small money to support their children and families. The other manual artisans and small vendors were also forced to leave their homes for various towns and cities across the subcontinent to sell their products. While they were away their children longed for the love and affection of their fathers. When this reality of slavery was realized by our nation (people), it was clearly thought that the only way to emancipate from the exploitation of the feudal system and to live an honorable life is to fight for freedom. The fight initially began in 1931. In this fight there were two camps. In the one camp were the subjugated and wretched peoples of Kashmir and in the other were the rulers and their puppet officials, feudal lords and capitalists. The first phase of this battle was concluded in 1947. Scores of poor children had to





sacrifice their parents and families who were killed in this battle. Thousands of young girls like your self had to live away from their fathers who were locked up behind the bars by those who defended slavery and exploitation. Then came the year uqly of 1947. During these stormy periods the situation took such a turn that we entered from one phase of slavery to another. Dogra-rule came to an end but in the process our country was divided. One part went under occupation of Indian army while the other though called Azad (free) has none of the features of a free place. During this chaos hundreds of thousands of old and young as well as children were martyred. The blood of those unaccountable children along with the older members of our nation flows into the plains of Jammu and Valley, in the hills of Poonch, Muzaffarabad and Mirpur in the mountains and of Kargil and Ladakh. No monuments of these children can be found but these anonymous martyrs are the pride of our nation. To be able to tell all the stories of these young martyred boys and girls of our freedom struggle it requires a complete book. Here I want to tell you only one fact that the invaders murdered countless children just likes those merciless hunters who kill the sprinkling sparrows on trees during spring. Some of these children were killed with spears and swords by the communalists intoxicated with the influence of sectarianism as herds of sheep are torn apart by the bloodthirsty wolves. My dear child, 1947 was not the end of that era of sacrifices by the children of our nation. It is continuing even today and may (well) continue till the whole nation is liberated. Our people are continuously making sacrifices both in the occupied Kashmir (IOK) as well as in Azad Kashmir (POK). On both sides children are growing under the horrifying shadows of slavery. Countless Kashmiri children have become orphans (without any one to care for them) because the destruction and killings inflicted upon us by the enemies of our freedom.





Consequently they have been deprived of the essential provisions for the (good) growth and upbringing of children. The details of those past events are too long to be told here. Recently, two young boys were killed in London. They too were the flowers of our nations. Basharat and Hanif of Mirpur who sacrificed their youthful lives not only remind us of our history and tradition but also set an example for the future. Every child of our nation should be proud on them. Dear Azra, I have written all that to clarify what agony children of slave nations have to go through. It is also important that you know these details because you have a great passion for the freedom our country, which is obvious from your quoting the couplet in your letter, which states [Kudda Ney Aaj Takk Uss Qaoum Ki Hallat Nahein Baddlee Naa Ho Jiss Ko Khiaal Aap Appni Hallat Kay Baddlane Ka] God may never help any nation which does not realize itself to change its outlook. Also, your determination is praiseworthy because you have expressed in your letter "We will not refrain from giving the last drop of our blood for the freedom, sovereignty and prosperity of our beloved Kashmir." I am greatly impressed by this passion in you. May Allah keep you on the right path, enhance your mind and fulfill your aspirations. Now let me comment on some of your other views, which you have described in your letter. You say that you know the details of difficulties and oppression we went through, which makes ones heart sink but there are such stonehearted and ignorant people who enjoy and make fun of such stories. We must remember that only those peoples feel the pain in stories of repression that have them selves suffered or fought against it. The hard-hearted people or those who have not suffered would not understand such stories. They neither enjoy nor are saddened. However, there is a class of people who take pleasure in such stories. This is the (class of) repressors. If people laugh at the torture and oppression we suffered for the freedom of our country then you must remember they are the enemy of freedom of whole Kashmiri nation.





They are the supporters of repression and enemy of justice and rights. Such people never last long and usually face humiliation within their lifetime. The righteous people always rise victorious with truth and justice. At the end such people look at themselves and are shamed. You have also written that Kashmiris have sacrificed their lives for Pakistan but Pakistan brands them as 'agents'. Here, your views are slightly misplaced. It is not Pakistan that accuses Kashmiris of spying but the ruling traitors of this country. It is the same bunch of rulers who has denied the peoples of this country freedom and democracy and eventually disintegrated it. Indeed, the role these bunches of traitors have played has been far worse than traitors. That is why they brand all patriotic (Kashmiris) and friends of (our) people as foreign agents or spies. These rulers, who committed crimes against their own people and called authentic leaders as 'agents', accuse us (Kashmiris) of spying but we should not get angry. As for the actual Pakistan, the people of this country are concerned, they will accept the truth when it is brought before them. The sufferings given to us is not the (work of) real Pakistanis. The cruel (men) of ruling (class) who open fire on their own people are responsible for our sufferings. Obviously the rulers who declared war against their own peoples can not offer anything to anyone else but injustice. Pakistani ruling class never ever supported Kashmiris in their fight for freedom, as they should have done. Indeed this class has no interest in the freedom of Kashmir. What ever they say is merely a lip service and must not be trusted. However the peoples of Pakistan are our true supporters and friends. We will certainly have their support. The (ordinary) people of Pakistan have sincerity as well as sympathy for us. Whenever Kashmiris move forward the peoples of Pakistan will support them. You are right that by branding Kashmiri freedom fighters as 'agents' these rulers have actually served India. Perhaps it is the result of this hypocrisy (double policy) that they (Pakistani rulers) are faced with a humiliation at the end.





You (say that you) are happy about our determination to stand up for (our) right and did not give up the just cause during these challenges. This has only been possible with God's blessings who kept us on the right path though out. Please pray to the almighty Allah that we stay on the right path in the future. Only then the National Liberation Front (NLF), Inshallah, will achieve bigger and greater successes. The suggestion that 'Kashmiris have been brought to the point of neither here nor there' is a mistake. We were the true sons of the soil; we are and will remain so. The passion (flame) for freedom we possess will remain in us forever. We will confront any force on earth that may come in our way to achieve our freedom. As you have rightly pointed out, the blood Kashmiris have given for the freedom of our country will never be wasted. The blood of (our) martyrs brings the goal for freedom nearer. You are quite right that those who fight for the right and just cause have to go through tests and trials. Yes that is what makes them so noble - as they face all such challenges patiently and with courage. The prayer, which rises from the bottom of your innocent heart, will surely be answered by the God almighty, as it is his promise to mankind that no power on earth can fail them as long as they are on the right path. Rubina and Papoo told me about you good health and that you are paying proper attention to your education. You (may) know that real power and wealth human beings may possess is the knowledge they acquire. This wealth can neither be stolen nor spent. Without 'knowledge' human beings are mere animals. That is why I hope that you will give even more attention to your studies. Give my regards to your Ammee Jaan and lots of love to Beitee Rubina.

Yours loving uncle, Muhammad Maqbool Butt





To

Ikraam Ullah Jaswaal, a Plebescite Front activist from Azad Kashmir

In the name of ALLAH, Most gracious, Most merciful

From Central Jail New Delhi, dated 2nd May, 1980

Dear Jaswaal Saib, Aslam o Aliakum

I received your letter some time ago. A number of reasons kept me from writing a reply. My apologies for any concern this delay has caused. The significance of correspondence between friends can not be denied. Once again, I am extremely sorry for my inhibition to write for many years. The reason, however, has never been that I had forgotten you. I hope you will not take the following explanation as an excuse. We often find ourselves, despite the desire, unable to do what we want to do due to the unfavorable conditions. To describe and explain this aspect of prison life requires writing a book, but the saying that 'a prisoner is not supposed to be able to choose', explains our condition in prisons quite well. You may find it surprising that it took me years of knocking at the judge's doors to win access to some writing material. You have rightly pointed out that I do not write about the misery of the (present) conditions around me. Not that I can not write, but because crying about the harshness of conditions is not my style. This letter is primarily an acknowledgement of your letter for which I am sure you will have been awaiting anxiously. As for my feelings on receiving your letter it may look poetic but it was like a breath of morning breeze in a suffocating atmosphere. It revived all those delightful memories of the immortal relationship between us that can be rightly called as the most valuable common wealth of human life. I am hopeful that despite 'personal' reasons described in your letter you will continue writing letters to me at least for my sake, as these letters are the greatest gift I can have here in





prison. What the officials do with these letters does cause worries but it should not put off committed friends like you. Coming back to your letter. I have read it again and again not only because it was from you but also because I wanted to get the picture between the lines. It transferred quite a lot on the paper out of pain and sympathy. However, what you wrote may be of great value when judged wisely and rationally under the existing conditions. For those who are involved passionately in changing these conditions and are determined to do so at any cost may have different criteria of judging and monitoring the current events. Of course eagerness and wish-full (thinking) have a place in life and reasons for it but life can not revolve around this tendency (all the time). Those who love to and are committed to achieving (their goal) know that patience is a necessary quality for success. An English writer wrote somewhere that nothing succeeds like a success, but it is equally true that nothing fails like a failure. If the goal is to grab power and leadership the above saying may have a value of maccavlian prescription, which involves superficial demands and compromises but the goal of making history requires completely different approach. For history is made by The kind of people who direct their theories and practices towards a fresh approach. They challenge and rebel against the established official people and values. Here are some points about this breed of people. Did Aristotle not have to drink poison? Did the messenger of (Allah) in his time jump into the fire of Nimrod? Did Jesus (Christ) not have to kiss the gallows (the cross), which was erected by the rulers of the time? Did our prophet (PUBH) show signs of desperation and anxiety when he was tortured and stoned in the markets of Taaeif ? Did Gotham Buddha ever compromise with Brahminic exploitations? Take a look at the (rights) movement of Martin Luther King, the ideologies of Marx and





Engle's and the rise of anti-colonial movements for national liberation. Did any of these people compromise with the established values in their times? There are several examples in history, which suggest that those who laid foundations for the (revolutionary) movements did not physically survive beyond the initial stage of maturity of their ideas. But that does not under estimate their role in the success of struggles in the light of their ideas. As for their historical role they remain the founding fathers of such struggles. This topic is too big to be covered in the space of this letter. Suffice to say that those who love an identity and chose to devote their life for (a cause) can not even dream of giving up let alone actually giving in. The simple reason is that giving up one's identity staggers the whole process of evolution of man's qualities, belief and commitment and may have consequences for the humanity (as a whole). We should be wary of the time when man becomes slave for compromising on a belief and gives up the path of sacrifice and devotion. The human beings will then become walking corpses and society will become their graveyard. With this in mind your suggestion can be viewed in mildest terms as unacceptable. You know that national identity takes shape by many (influential) factors and through several historical processes. It does not take form out of mere claims nor vanishes if some (individuals) give it up. It is a gift from nature. Once established no power on earth can dismantle it. Therefore, it is unthinkable and sinful to even think of division of our country, which as has a direct bearing on giving up our national identity. Historical facts stay firmly rooted in history on their own merit and cannot be altered by the frailties of some individuals. However, being unable to cope with demands of history's course of action and opting out for opportunism and superficial actions by individuals or parties





due to their frailties is a separate issue. Who knows better than yourself that under no circumstances can we be compelled to join that kind of people. As for peace, who in the whole wide world does not wish peace and tranquility (in our region)? But not being able to distinguish between the peace and calm in a graveyard and the peace and tranquility of blooming life is a sign of naiveté. The peace and tranquility at the cost of just aspirations and wishes (of our people) overshadowed by constant terror and fear is no peace. To dream of such 'peace' is a mere corruption of mind. Indeed arguing for such peace is asking to accept the death of aspirations. As this letter has gone too long, the topic has to be ended here. Worries about me should not occupy your mind too much. Just pray to god as whatever he will decide about me will in the long run prove to be best for all of us. I am sorry to hear about the difficulty you are going through in your personal life. I pray to God to ease your problems as nothing else can be done from afar? The news that our respected friend Muhammed Zaman Abbasi has passed away is extremely disturbing. May god almighty bless his soul and award him heaven and give courage to his grieving family. Please express my condolences to all the family. It also saddens me to know that respected Mir Hadayat Ullah had a heart attack but I am pleased that he is watching his diet and does not keep too much on his mind. This should improve his health. Give my sincere Regards to Ansari saib, Bashir Tabbassam saib, Sufi Zaman saib, G.M. Mir saib, Muhammed Saddique baba, Dr. (Farooq Haider) saib and all other friends. I received a letter from Dr. Saib in February and replied to his clinic address but did hear from him since. Convey my salaam to dear Naseem Lone and Nazaki Saib. I am aware of the former's sensitive nature and have had experience of it myself. As for saying that 'Koonj Bichhar Gaiee Daaroon





Lubhdi sujnaa noon' (a heron has been separated from the flock in search for the beloved) is surely an expression of his sensitivity and points to a painful situation. Tell him that the actual tragedy, however, begins when 'Daar Bichhar jaey lubhda munzal noon' (the flock loses the way while searching for destination). Pray to God to protect us from besieging into such a tragedy. Give my regards to Hashim and Ashraf. Delay in Hashim's appeal is becoming cause of concern for me. Please write to me about it in detail. Send my salaam to Dr. Bassat c/o Naseem Lone. And finally! Do not think pessimistically that we have no friends. Those who are faithful and committed have the support and solidarity from whole of the universe and its creator. I am not being philosophical here but speaking out of my experience and consciousness. I have to stop here as the space and ink are running out. Also this heavy letter will give reason to the 'Khudahee Faoujdaars' (the soldiers of god -sarcastic remark about agency people) to call it 'be rung' (without postage stamps) and initiate an attack on your pocket. I do not wish that to happen. Enclosed is a paper for dear 'Islamabadi Saib'. Please arrange for it to be reached to him. In fact it is a reply to his old mail I did not respond to. You are right that I have reached a stage in life where my hair is going grey but what do I do about this heart which is continually teeming and blossoming youthful aspirations? As far as Darvaishaana style is concerned, this is your imagination. I do not even claim to have such attributes, never mind adopting them. The buzurgee (old age) and darvaishee (humble living) are Specifically for your self. Physical ageing is an unavoidable Process (of nature). What we need to seek from God is that he may not weaken our aspirations and ambitions with the weakening of our bodies.

Give my regards to all friends and your family members. Lots of love to children.

Yours Brother

Mohammed Maqbool Butt.





and exposing their monstrosity is as old as the history of man. This glorious chapter of our history has been luminescent for centuries. We have never had, nor shall ever have, a dearth of heroes, who as moths embrace the flame, are ever ready to lay down their lives for liberty. It is a different matter that on several occasions during our struggle, we have faced a situation of 'Yeh Nadaan Gir Gayey Sajdoon Mein Jab Waqt-e-Qayaam Aaya' (when the test came the fools started praying instead of standing up) because of a compromising attitude of some of our comrades or again because of the machinations of some opportunists. But such temporary phases are common in the history of nations. They can never achieve permanence. Nations survive because of that (strong) spirit, that abiding passion for liberty, which according to our Holy Prophet (PBUH), "emboldens one to recite the Kalima-e-HAQ (the call for the truth) before a tyrant, and that too with the conviction that this is the greatest Jihad". I have never considered myself apart from this struggle for freedom that our people have embarked upon. In spite of my weaknesses and infirmities, I have tried my best to discharge my responsibilities. In this never ending conflict between truth and falsehood, those who respond to their conscience and identify themselves with the standard bearers of truth, covet no rewards and desire no praise. This long and trying struggle sees many crests and troughs. The passage of time and unfavorable circumstance may affect its intensity but cannot put an end to it. It is the greatest duty of every upholder of truth to continue this struggle in all its intensity. Negligence can only lead to a state where not only does humanity lose the purpose and meaning of our existence but slows down that current of noble deeds that has sustained prophets and those that revolutionized human life. We can not claim to belong to that category of benefactors of humanity, but in spite of our vulnerability we can benefit by following their example. As long as the gloomy night of oppression hovers over us, we have to go on illuminating the





scaffolds and gallows with out heads. I am convinced that only those who struggle with a firmness of faith, enjoining truth and patience can deliver humanity from a fearful disaster. Pray that the Almighty Allah include us amongst righteous. It is possible that you (may well) be bored with what I have written in a spate of emotions, but you can understand that except for my ideas and feelings, I have nothing that I can bequeath to those who remember me. You have mentioned your efforts to get my 'sentence' reduced; I express my gratitude to you. You have based your efforts on the premise that the 'crimes' that I have been accused of are a result of my political convictions. What were these crimes? How were they investigated? How was the case against me framed? And in the process, how were law and justice torn to shreds? Who played what role in this farce? What manipulations took place to get me liquidated? All this shall remain a mystery for now! A whole book is required to narrate the full (story); a letter is all too brief for the task. I am certain that the time shall soon come, when I shall recount the facts of this so-called case (against me) in people's court. If the local administration feels that the requirements of law and justice have been met, why are the proceedings not being made public? The press clippings attached with your letter have made me aware of the public outcry evoked by the proposed decision to carry execute the 'sentence' against me. Please convey my gratitude to all leaders, eminent citizens, organizations and institutions that have played a principal role in this. By the grace of God, I am in perfect health. I spend my time with forbearance in this 'death cell', where I was shifted to in the last week of May this year. Since then I have not been back to the security ward where I was incarcerated for the past five years, I feel that the government has not reviewed the decision to carry out the sentence. So things are as they were. Let us see which way the wind blows. To you, and through you, to all my countrymen, my regards. Soliciting your prayers
Mohammad Maqbool Butt





Late Dr Farooq Haider writes about Maqbool Butt Sahib

I first met Maqbool Butt in March 1969 when he was released from custody in Muzaffarabad Qilla. He had just escaped from Srinagar jail and managed to cross over to Muzaffarabad where he was arrested again. He still had frost-bite in his feet. Mir Abdul Qayyum was with me then. Since that day till May 1976 Maqbool Butt stayed with me in Rawalpindi. He was so much committed to the freedom movement that he had very little time to go home. He had very busy schedule of our work recruiting more members. He was a tireless man with a very strong conviction for freedom. He worked day and night. I remember when Maqbool Butt, Javed Saghar and I traveled day and night for 72 hours to supply goods to our underground activists in Jammu for an emergency. When we came back to my house after making safe delivery I could not control myself and immediately fell asleep. At about 4 a.m. when I suddenly woke up I found Maqbool Butt still having discussions with Ayub Khan's group who had arrived to discuss operational matters in the Neelum Sector. Maqbool Butt had another excellent quality, which I never saw in anyone else. He tackled very complicated problems in such a simple way that he bewildered me. He enjoyed children's company. He was at his happiest with children. Whenever we had to look for him we looked for children's gathering and found him either playing with them or teaching them about the meaning and benefits of true freedom. I still remember his answer to one child who asked him how to be free. Maqbool Butt told him "when you can make yourself believe that you are free, YOU ARE FREE". He was staunch believer in national and individual freedom. He wanted his nation to be a proud and free nation. His ambition was for an independent homeland where all would be free from evils of the past and of the prevailing era. It is beyond any doubt that he loved liberty for his people and I can confirm with my hand on my heart that Maqbool Butt believed Azadi was worth having at whatever cost.





*Dr Farooque Haider*1*

**1. Rawalpindi, Oct 6: Prominent Kashmiri leader and the founder member of the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front, Dr Farooq Haider, died on Tuesday after prolonged illness. He was 73. He breathed his last early this morning at his residence after fighting a year long battle against chronic lung disease. Hailing from Pir Mitha, Jammu, Haider's forefathers had migrated to Pakistan in 1947 when thousands of innocent people were killed while on their way to Pakistan. During the mass exodus, his close relatives including his elder brother, Malik Ajaz Ahmed, got killed in the massacre. After his early education, Haider obtained MBBS degree, and began his carrier as medical doctor. He was running his own clinic in Rawalpindi where the needy people, particularly Kashmiri migrants, got free treatment and medication. The deceased leader is one of the pioneers of JKLF who contributed immensely in the ongoing struggle for right to self-determination. Being a close aide of Shaheed Maqbool Bhat, he played an active role in the Plebiscite Front and in National Liberation Front, which was later renamed as Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front. Revolutionary by nature Dr Haider remained deeply associated with the struggle for several years past. Along with other JKLF leaders, Dr Farooq Haider was arrested in Ganga hijacking case. Later, however, quashing their detention order, the Supreme Court of Pakistan released the Front leaders terming them as great patriots. Funeral prayers for the deceased soul were held here late afternoon. A large number of mourners including the members of Kashmiri community joined the procession.*

SRINAGAR, Oct 6: Dr Farooq Haider, a prominent leader and close associate of JKLF founder chairman Muhammad Maqbool Bhat, passed away at Rawalpindi today. He was 75. Dr Haider was suffering from lung ailment for quite some time. JKLF has paid rich tributes to the departed leader. His almost entire family was wiped out during 1947 riots. From an early





age, Dr Haider started taking part in freedom struggle. He continued his higher studies, but his association with the struggle also continued. During his political career, Dr Haider never demanded any post in the party. After Maqbool Bhat was hanged to death, Dr Haider along with others worked hard to keep the JKLF alive. Since 1988, his house in Pakistan always welcomed the separatist leaders and others from Kashmir. While the separatist, particularly from JKLF were facing any problem in Pakistan, Dr Haider was always there to extend his help to them. Later, he himself opened a clinic in Sadder Bazar, Rawalpindi. The income generated was utilized for the movement. He was jailed a number of times for his unique views. Despite the hurdles created in his path, Dr Haider never disassociated himself from the movement. As the news of his death reached here, JKLF decided to perform "Gayibana Nimaz-e- Jinazah (Prayers in absentia). Subsequently, the people assembled at Badshah Chowk. Addressing the people Muhammad Yasin Malik, chairman JKLF remembered Dr Haider with tearful eyes. "I am badly missing Dr Haider. He was my fatherly figure in the movement. Without him we are like orphans." Yasin added that Dr Haider worked selflessly for the movement and the way he contributed his services for the movement is the best example of his dedication and commitment for the movement. "Dr Haider's home and clinic was dedicated for the movement and the people associated with it. Till his death he rendered great service to the people and the movement," JKLF chairman said. Yasin described Dr Haider as the real leader and hero of Kashmiris who was associated with the movement. He added that not only he but also entire JKLF and Kashmiris are mourning the death of Dr Haider. Prominent leaders, intellectuals and people from different walks of life took part in prayers in absentia, which were led by Moulana Showkat Ahmad Shah, president Jamait-e-Ahli Hadith.





Some News items published in "Kashmir times"
relating to the hanging of shaheed baba I quom
Mohammed Maqbool Bhat

Maqbool Bhat to be hanged on Saturday
Order issued by special judge on
Petition by J&K State
(The Kashmir Times, Feb. 9, 1984)

JAMMU, Feb. 8... Mohammad Maqbool Bhat, founder of the "Kashmir National Liberation Front," sentenced to death in a murder case in 1968, is being hanged in Delhi's Tihar Jail, at 7.30 A.M. on Saturday.

A 'Black Warrant' to this effect was issued here today by Thakur Pavitar Singh Bharadwaj, Special Judge under "Enemy Agents Ordinance" on a petition filed by the Jammu and Kashmir Government through its senior prosecution officer, Mr. Bodh Raj Gupta.

This action followed the unannounced visit of senior officials of the Union Home Ministry here today who held high-level discussion on this matter with their state counterparts and also met the Chief Minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah in this connection before flying back to the Union Capital carrying the 'Black Warrant.'

The State Home Secretary and the Law Secretary were also present in the Special Judge's court at the time of filing of the petition praying for Maqbool's execution.

The Special Judge directed that "Maqbool Bhat be hanged from neck till he is dead at 7.30 A.M. on February 11 in Tihar jail". The Superintendent of Tihar jail has been directed to comply the order by executing Bhat in Tihar and to report back that the sentence of death has been carried out.

Maqbool Bhat, 50 year old with Masters Degree in English and Urdu literature, was ordered to be transferred from the Jammu and Kashmir State to Tihar Jail in Delhi under S.R.O. No.553, on July 23, 1976.





His final mercy petition which was lying before the President of India since July 25, 1977 was rejected yesterday. Earlier, the Supreme Court had rejected his Special leave petition against the death sentence awarded to him on August 17, 1968 for murdering a CID inspector Amar Chand at Nadihal, in Baramulla district during an encounter with the police which led to Bhat's first arrest in September, 1966.

The State Governor had also rejected his mercy petition. Bhat was tried by a Special Judge under the "Enemy Agents Ordinance" in Srinagar central jail for offences punishable under Sections 302 and 395 of the R.P.C. and under the Enemy Agents ordinance. He was awarded death sentence and other punishment. Bhat's review petition was rejected by the J&K High Court which confirmed his death sentence.

While awaiting his execution in Srinagar central jail, Bhat made a sensational escape in December 1968 and fled back to Pakistan. He again infiltrated into Kashmir Valley in 1976 summer along with two accomplices. All the three of them were arrested.

Maqbool Bhat originally belonged to Trehgam village in Kupwara District. He went over to Pakistan and settled in Peshawar. He obtained Masters Degree in English and Urdu literature.

In early 1965, Bhat founded the "Kashmir National Liberation Front" (NLF) along with Major Amanullah Khan who has since shifted to Britain and now heads the "Kashmir Liberation Front" which is responsible for last week's assassination of an Indian diplomat in that country Mr. R.H. Mhatre.

Before infiltrating into Kashmir in 1966, Maqbool Bhat had declared himself to be the head of the "military wing" of "NLF".

The N.L.F. is ostensibly committed to securing "independent, sovereign status for Jammu and Kashmir" but its activities have been directed only against India. The N.L.F. has bases in Rawalpindi and Pakistan Occupied Kashmir while Amanullah's outfit is based in Birmingham.





Among the well known associates of Maqbool is Hashim Qureshi who hijacked an Indian passenger aircraft to Pakistan in 1971 along with his cousin Mohammed Ashraf. Maqbool Bhat was present at the Lahore airport to welcome the two hijackers who latter blew up the hijacked Indian aircraft. Hashim now heads the N.L.F. in Pakistan.

Hashim's young brother, Iqbal Qureshi and their two other relatives, Nazir Ahmed & Altaf Qureshi were arrested in Srinagar last year for their involvement in incidents of bomb blast in the city and in the anti India display during the October 13 cricket match.

Maqbool's re-arrest in 1976 was followed by hijacking of another Indian aircraft to Pakistan in September that year by six Kashmiri youths led by Abdul Hamid Diwani of Bandipora who have since identified themselves as members of Bhat's N.L.F.

Maqbool Bhat was reported to have told the Judge who sentenced him to death in 1968 that "Judge Sahib, nobody has the rope which could hang me". He is believed to have set up underground subversive cells in Kashmir during his two periods of stay in Kashmir before falling into police hands. The kidnappers of the Indian diplomat in Britain had demanded Bhat's release for freeing their captive before he was slain.

**Stage set for Maqbool Bhat's Execution today
(The Kashmir Times, Feb. 11, 1984)**

With the arrival of hangman Kallu Meerut this morning, the stage is set for tomorrow's execution by rope of Mohammed Maqbool But, who carries to death sentences on his head.

Bhat will be hanged at 07.30 hrs. In the Tihar Jail in compliance with the "Black warrant" signed yesterday by Jammu special Judge Thakur Paviter Singh Bharadwaj. The black warrant was received here yesterday and Bhat was shifted into the "Phansi Kothi" from ward No. 1 soon after. When contacted, officials of the Pakistan Embassy here refused to comment on the matter. Kallu, meanwhile, conduct a "Dummy run" of the hanging latter today. Tight security has



been put in force around the jail. When asked for details, the superintendent Mr. ABShukla, refused to speak on the matter.

The main gates has been locked shut and entry restricted. An additional company of the Delhi Armed Police, it's learnt, has been deployed to beef up the existing force of one company of the Tamil Naidu Special Police (STP). The gate will be reopened only on Monday though usually interviews of prisoners between 1000 and 1330 hrs. Being permitted. Engineers of the Delhi Electric Supply undertaking inspecting of all the light poles in the jail complex this morning to ensure that there are no mall functions when the electricity- is kept on through out the night as a precautionary measure.

Armed guards have also been posted at the small DESU substation in the complex. The divisional engineer (telegraphs) is visited the jail today and was instructed to ensure that all telephones lines work without a hitch. Bhat will be given the dinner of his choice at 1730 this evening. He will also be provided with whatever food and beverages, he will be woken up at 0500 tomorrow to bath and perform his rituals. The "Black warrant" will be read out to him and he will be dressed in a black kurta and pyjama. With his hands tied behind him and preceded by the deputy superintendent and six jailers, he will thereafter be escorted to the gallows. Bhat has thus far not asked for a Molvi for his last confession. He can, if he chooses, dictate and sign his will after the black warrant is read out to him.

Maqbool Bhat's brother detained
(The Kashmir Times, Feb. 11, 1984)

Mr. Ghulam Nabi Bhat, younger brother of Maqbool Bhat, who will be hanged tomorrow, in Tihar jail, was detained by the police at the Srinagar airport today. Mr. Ghulam Nabi Bhat was schedule to leave for Delhi for having last meeting with his brother. Mr. Bhat was also intending to get the body of Maqbool Bhat to his native village Tregham, 96 Kms from here in the border district of Kupwara for performing the last rites there. Official sources here gave no reason for Ghulam Nabi's detention.



Supreme Court Rejects Maqbool's Plea to escape noose.
(The Kashmir Times, Feb. 11, 1984)

A last ditch plea by Mohammad Maqbool Bhat, founder President of the so called Kashmir National Liberation Front, to escape the noose barely 36 hours before his hanging in Tihar Jail, was today rejected by the Supreme Court. Dismissing a petition pleading for stay of Bhat's execution, a division bench comprising the Chief Justice Mr. Y. V. Chandachud and Mr. Justices A. Varadarajan declared that there was no substance in it. The judges granted a plea for a last interview of Bhat by his close relative, who were entitled under the Punjab jail manual rules but refused to permit two local journalists to talk to the prisoner before he walked up the gallows. Fifty year old Bhat, holding a post-graduate in English And Urdu literature, was sentenced to death on August 17, 1968 by the special judge Srinagar for the murder of a CID inspector, Amar Chand at Nadihal in Baramullah district during an encounter with the police which took place in 1965. Maqbool Bhat had pleaded that he would be granted time to satisfy himself that all procedural steps had been taken by the Jammu and Kashmir Government under Section 9 of the Enemy Agents Ordinance. Bhat's counsel Mr. Kapil Sibal took up the matter in the morning when the Chief Justice directed that the petition be taken up for hearing even though it was at the bottom of the list already prepared for the day. Mr. Sibal argued that Bhat be given few more days time to show to the Court that the procedural requirements which were obligatory for the state to follow under the Enemy Agents ordinance had not been followed, He could not therefore, be executed on Saturday Mr. Sibal said Bhat was condemned to death by the special Judge, Srinagar, under Section 5 of the enemy agent ordinance. The death sentence was the confirmed by the J&K High Court in 1970. Six years later his special leave petition was also rejected by the Supreme Court. His mercy petition was dismissed by the President a couple of days ago. Mr. Sibal's main argument was that the procedural requirement of the



getting the conviction reviewed by a person appointed by the state Government had not been met. Mr. Sibal said the sue motto statutory review of the conviction under the enemy agents ordinance had not been done as required under the ordinance. It was therefore, illegal to execute Bhat because he had not been allowed to exercise his fundamental rights under the constitution, the counsel said. In the midst of the replay by the Chief Justice that these points could have been raised and should have been raised earlier and not a day before the executions, the Attorney General Mr. K Parasaran presented to the chief justice a file containing a copy of the review Judgment by the Chief Justices of J&K High Court Mr. Justices S. Murtaza Fazal Ali dismissing the review and affirming the death sentences the chief justices told Mr. Sibal that he was not instructed correctly and that state Govt. did have the conviction reviewed and that there was a reasoned six pages judgement by Mr. Fazal Ali. After inspection Mr. Sibal said the judgment carried no signature of the reviewing judge. Besides, his client was never informed that the review had been done. The Chief Justice remarked that it could not be assumed that the State Government could have forged the judgment Mr. Justices Fazal Ali, who is now a judge of the Supreme Court. In view of this, the chief justices said the court was satisfied that the order of conviction was reviewed by a competent authority and therefore there was no substance in Bhat's contention that the statutory requirements had not been met by government before hanging him on Saturday. Earlier, the Chief wondered why for 14 years none of the points were raised now had been raised. A person, the chief justices said who took his fundamental rights leisurely could not claim the protection of the law at the eleventh hour. The court also dismissed Mr. Sibal's contention that the Government was keen to hanging Bhat immediately because of certain incidents that had taken place in London. The chief Justice Said the court had nothing to do with what might have happened in London. The court allowed Bhat's relatives and friends to have the lost meeting before execution. The court, however, rejected the plea of several local journalists that they be permitted to interview Bhat.



Hartal in Anantnag several arrested
(The Kashmir Times, Feb. 11, 1984)

Main district of. South Kashmir Anantnag observed hartal today as a protest against the decision regarding the execution of Maqbool Bhat. All shops and business Establishments remained closed today in the district 55kms from here. However, transport services were also affected. There was a minor clash between police and a group of people in which stones and kangri's (fire ports) were thrown on police personal. No one was injured in the clash according reports reaching here, but police arrested several persons when they, were persuading the shopkeepers pull down shutters. Bhat's hometown, Trehgam 96 kms from here in North West Kashmir, also observed a hartal today. The bar association of Pulwama district has decided to boycott all the Courts tomorrow "as a mark of respect" for Bhat who is to be hanged in Tihar Jail tomorrow morning. In a resolution passed at an emergency meeting, the bar association described Bhat" as a shining example of sacrifice and dedication for the cause of Kashmiri people and said, no Kashmiri shall be without a tear if the sentence is carried out". Life in the Kashmir Valley remains normal today with no untoward incident reported from anywhere, according to deputy inspector general of police Srinagar. Security at Jammu & Kashmir airport has been tightened and contingents of armed police and CRPF deployed at many areas in Kashmir valley, Our Anantnag correspondent reporters: at least 450 suspected trouble makers have been rounded up in different parts in valley in swift police operations till late night .a group of four people allegedly owing allegiance to KLF and Maqbool Bhat and belonging the Pantha Chowk in Srinagar arrived here, this morning collected local young youths and went around the town raising anti India slogans they asked a shopkeeper to observe the hartal to protest against the hanging of Maqbool Bhat. The shopkeepers pulled down their shutters and remained closed till 1:00 pm the





4 persons who attacked a police constable at Lal Chowk with a kangri, where taken into custody. The police also arrested five other youths. While some shops reopened a procession of youth from Nagabal paraded the bazaar and again forced the shopkeepers to close their shops. The processionists raised pro-Maqbool Bhat and anti India slogans including "Zalimu Kashmir Chhor Do" the police latter chased away the demonstrators.

A family Divided (The Kashmir Times, Feb. 11, 1984)

Mohammad Maqbool Bhat Ordered to be hanged in Tihar Jail tomorrow morning has his family relations living in either side of the Indo Pakistan border. His younger brother Ghulam Nabi, lives in Trehgam village of Kupwara district, in, Kashmir Valley. Bhat was born at Trehgam and after his school education he went over to Pakistan and settled at Peshawar. His wife, a school teacher, and there two teen- aged children, a son and a daughter, lives in Peshawar. Ghulam Nabi is a tailor by Profession. Bhat's aged father died about two years ago. Another interesting background detail about Bhat is that of the four persons along with whom he had infiltrated into Kashmir valley, twice, in 1966 and 1976. His two accomplices in the first instance were Kala Khan and Mohd Yasin both of whom were awarded life Imprisonment in the Nadihal murder case in which Bhat was sentenced to death leading to his execution. Kala Khan completed his prison term two years back and has since been repatriated to Pakistan in exchange for an Indian prisoner held in oat country'. Yasin had escaped from Srinagar central jail in 1968 and he is also back in Pakistan. Then Bhat's both accomplices in the second case of infiltration, Riaz Ahmed and Abdul Hamid, are stilt in Indian custody in connection with the Langete bank dacoity case in which the manager of the bank was shot dead by Bhats men. Riaz and Hamid were only teen-aged college students when they intruded into Indian Territory and were arrested at Langet in 1976 while they were heavily armed.



Maqbool Bhat Executed: Body buried in Jail
(The Kashmir Times, Feb. 12, 1984)

Mohammad Maqbool Bhat, was hanged to death, in the capital Tihar jail, exactly 0730 a.m. as stipulated in the Black warrant. A few hours later, his body was buried in the jail compound, according to Islamic rites, as no relation was present to claim it. His brother Ghulam Nabi was detained at Srinagar airport, as he was about to board a Delhi bound flight yesterday while his wife Zakira and three Children are in Peshawar in Pakistan. The hanging was carried out by Fakira, who was specially brought from Patiala, under very tight security with armed Central Reserve Police Force and Delhi, armed police blocking all entry roads to the jail premises. Five senior jail officers, Mr. R.L. Sethi, Inspector General of prisons, Mr. A G Kher, DIG prison. Mr. R L Shukla, Jail Superintendent, Mr. S K Ghatwal, Magistrate, and Dr. Kundan were present at the execution of fifty-year old Bhat, who was sentenced to death twice in 1968 and 1976. Mr. Sethi came out of the huge main steel gate of the prison around 8:30a.m. and informed the waiting foreign and Indian newsmen that Bhat was hanging for thirty minutes till he was finally declared dead by the doctor.

Maqbool was calm and composed when he walked to the gallows and did not utter any word as he was being taken to gallows. The founder of the self styled Kashmir Liberation Front. Maqbool, had also left no will nor had he uttered any death wish, Mr. Sethi said. After spending a sleep less night in the death row with lights on. Bhat was asked to take a bath shortly before 7a.m. and then he was offered a breakfast. Dressed in black pajamas and shirt, Maqbool was marched to "phansi kothi" and then climbed the platform. He had five armed guards in front and five behind him.

As he stood on the platform, Fakira placed a black hood over his face and after getting the green signal from the Jail Superintendent, who waved a white handkerchief; Fakira pushed a single liver, which opened the trap door underneath.





Bhat fell on the single scaffolding and died instantly, according to Mr. Sethi, but his body was left hanging for half an hour. Three lawyers Mr. R.S. Pathak, Mr. Muzaffar Beg, who is also the Vice-chairman of the Kashmir People's conference, and Mr. R. M. Tufail said they possessed power of attorney to claim the body but were not allowed, and Bhat was buried inside the jail premises.

Mr. Beg told newsmen that they wanted to take Maqbool's body to his native Treggham village in the border district of Kupwara for burial as desired by him in the last interview with Mr. Pathak yesterday. Mr. Beg described the hanging as a "political and hasty" decision. Though Bhat did not say anything today at the time of hanging, in his last interview with his lawyer, R C Pathak, last evening he is understood to have told him that his hanging was "in retaliation against what happened in Birmingham." In his last message to his wife and children in Pakistan, Maqbool said tell them. I pray for them and they should pray for me. When my children grow up they will know They will themselves know what is what in life The lawyer also claimed that Bhat while in jail had been writing a manuscript and that he had left it in the cardboard coffee container and wished it to be handed over to his family members. 55-year old Bhat, born in Treggham in Kupwara district, crossed into Pakistan in early sixties. He had a postgraduate in English and Urdu literature from Peshawar University.

He was sentenced to death on August 17.1968 by the special judge Srinagar, for the murder of a CID Inspector Amar Chand at Nadihal in Baramulla district in 1966. Bhat made a sensational escape in December 1968 from the Srinagar Central Jail while awaiting his execution and fled back into Pakistan where he founded the so-called Kashmir Liberation Front (KLF) along with Amanullah Khan who has since shifted to Britain. (KLF) was responsible for last weeks kidnapping and murder of the Indian diplomat, Mr. R H Mahtre. Among the well-known associates of Maqbool is Hashim Qureshi who





hijacked an Indian Airlines Passenger aircraft to Pakistan in 1971. Bhat was present at the Lahore airport when the hijackers blew up the plane. Bhat infiltrated back into Kashmir in 1976 along with two accomplices, later all three were arrested in connection with a daylight bank robbery at Langet during which they had shot dead bank manager. He was again sentence to death for the crime and transferred to the Delhi Tihar jail to await execution, Maqbool Bhat's re-arrest 1976 was followed by hijacking of another Indian plane to Pakistan in September by Six Kashmiri youths from Bandipora who later identified themselves as members of the "Kashmir Liberation Front". A Black warrant for his hanging was issued by Mr. Bhardawaj. Special judges on February 8 following the rejection of his mercy petition by the President the same day. UNI adds. High drama marked the hanging with 130 armed jawans of the Border Security force joining 210 men of the Delhi Armed Police and 129 of the Tamil Naidu Special Police in sealing off the jail complex from all sides. This was against the normal development of 80 policemen at the jail.

**Maqbool's message to wife, children
(The Kashmir Times, Feb.12, 1984)**

Mr. Muzaffar Beg, Srinagar Advocate, today claimed that Mohammad Maqbool Bhat in his final interview with his counsel, Mr. RC Pathak yesterday had wanted the body to be taken to his native village Trigham in Kupwara district of Jammu and Kashmir. Mr. Pathak claimed that Bhat had 'arranged' all his documents, including his final will in a cardboard box in his cell and had expressed apprehension that he would not be given access to these. Bhat's brother Ghulam Nabi Bhat, a tailor, was - detained at Srinagar airport yesterday. Finding that Mr. Pathak was not religious. Bhat said "sometimes, one's own conscience is one's own God." Bhat also authorized Mr. Pathak to collect the "funds" amounting to. Rs.24.000 that he had left with the jail authorities. Mr. Pathak described the execution as "unjustified", saying Bhat had hot



received a "fair hearing." Mr. Beg claimed that Bhat had told him as far back as February 11, 1982 that he would not be executed "unless it serves a political purpose." Mr. Pathak said Bhat had told him that he did not appreciate "what had happened in Birmingham and he did not also appreciate the execution," which he termed as a "retaliatory" move. I believe in destiny. That's all. Now I am destined to die. I have loved life I will love death also," Mr. Pathak quoted him as saying.

In a message to his wife, a daughter and two sons, all of whom are in Peshawar, Bhat said, "Tell them I pray for them and they should pray for me. They will themselves know what is what in life".

In a message to his brother, Bhat said "tell him that if he does not see me today, he will see me tomorrow," meaning thereby that he would see the body, Mr. Pathak said.

Indian consulate in Karachi attacked (The Kashmir Times, Feb. 12, 1984)

The Indian consulate in Karachi was attacked again today by supporters of the Kashmir liberation front. Causing extensive damage for the flag car of the Consulate General. Three Indian officials and the driver in the car however escaped unhurt. The Indian Airline office in Karachi was also pelted with stones by demonstrators around the same time, according to Indian officials.

The glass doors and wall of the Airline office were smashed by the demonstrators apparently protesting against the execution of Maqbool Bhat New Delhi this morning About 20 Youngman reached the consulate around 1230 hours (local time) and stopped the flag car outside the main gate. They smashed the windscreen and window-panes and, damaged the body with sticks and stones. Stones rained on the consulate for about ten minutes, breaking several windowpanes, Indian Officials said, Mr. G. Parthasarthy, India's Council General, who was in the office, said the staff was safe and the matter was being taken up with the Pakistani authorities. All markets and



Offices were shut in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir today in protest against the execution of Maqbool Bhat in India, Reuter reported quoting official sources. Students protesting against the early morning execution in New Delhi stoned an Air India office in Karachi, police said. Political workers and student held protest march at various towns in the four Pakistan occupied Kashmir district of Muzaffarabad, Poonch, Mirpur and Kotli, the official sources said. A statement by the State government called the execution of Bhat, convicted of two murders, an ignoble and tyrannical deed which it said shook the territory with "deep grief, presentment and Commotion. Police in Karachi said they detained 45 students for the attacks on the Indian Consulate and the Air India office. Security at the Indian embassy in Islamabad was stepped up after the attack on the Karachi consulate. Two busloads of riot police were brought to the embassy and police were also posted in a park opposite the building.

An armed soldier and three armed police also guarded the homes of Indian ambassador K.D. Sharma. Instead of the usual single policemen. The Air India office in Lahore was guarded by about 20 policemen after protest demonstrations by Kashmiris there last night.

Bhat's son Javed was among about 30 youths arrested by Islamabad police for trying to stage a demonstration outside the Indian embassy yesterday: The President of Pakistan occupied Kashmir; Mr. Abdul Rehman Khan in a statement today called Bhat a patriot; and his execution an "atrocious and high-handed act", and becoming of a big country like India. There was no reaction, on the execution from the Pakistan Government, but an article in the Government-controlled Daily Pakistan Times today called it a "mad and cowardly act" and said "Indian rulers are completely shutting their eyes to the long history of freedom struggles of nations."





Sopore mob teargased, hartal in several towns.

(The Kashmir Times, Feb. 12, 1984)

Several parts of Kashmir Valley today observed hartal and rallies and processions were taken out at some places to protest against the execution of Maqbool Bhat in Tihar Jail.

A group of violent demonstrators clashed with the police in Sopore and the police used tear gases shells to disperse them the Official sources however did not confirm the report of tear gassing. In Sopore the mob raising anti-India and pro-Maqbool Bhat slogans clashed with the police and pelted stones. the protesters attacked the offices of the Irrigation and Electric department damaging the buildings.

Several other towns including Baramullah, Anantnag, Tral, Shopian, Bandipora, Pulwama and Kupwara also observed hartal to protest against Maqbools HANGING. In Baramullah, 55 Kilometer from here, shops and other establishments remained closed. Some other parts of north Kashmir including Trehgam, The-native village of Bhat also observed hartal on the second day today. Hand written posters condemning the hanging of the Bhat were seen posted on walls in many parts of Srinagar and other towns. The posters warned the central government dire consequences for Bhat's execution.

Meanwhile police had arrested over five hundred persons in different parts of the valley during the past two days as a precautionary measure. Security measures have also been tightened up. In another development, a local Urdu daily Srinagar Times yesterday received a threatening letter from the so-called Kashmir Liberation Front asking the editor to publish an appeal on its behalf, calling for a general strike today following the Shihadat of Mujahid Maqbool Bhat. The editor was told in case there was no response from him; he should be prepared for the worst consequences even murder. The appeal was published by the daily today. The police have been keeping night-long vigil at a strategic installation to prevent any untoward incident.





Zia describes Maqbool a 'Freedom fighter'

(The Kashmir Times, Feb.14, 1984)

Islamabad Feb. 13 (PTI): The Pakistan President Gen. Zia-Ul-Haq today condoled the death of Maqbool Bhat, describing him as a great freedom fighter of Kashmir. He expressed deep sympathies with the bereaved family while talking to newsmen before leaving for Moscow.

Security arrangements in valley tightened

Para military forces alerted

(The Kashmir Times, Feb. 16, 1984)

JAMMU February 15 The security arrangements all over Kashmir valley have been tightened in view of the call given by the Kashmir People's Conference headed by Mr. Abdul Ghani Lone and Awami Action Committee chairman, Mirwaiz Farooq for observance of protest day all over the valley on Friday to protest the execution of Maqbool Butt in Tihar jail on February 11.

While Mr. Lone has given a call for hartal throughout the valley, Mirwaiz has appealed to the Muslim to join the Friday congregations on Friday in mosques and Khanqas and offers prayer for the peace to the soul of the hanged leader of the Kashmir Liberation Front.

The patrolling by the police has been intensified and there has been massive deployment of police at potential trouble spots. The State authorities apprehend violence and have reports that the anti-national elements particularly those supporting the "Kashmir Liberation Front" might take this opportunity to resort to acts of sabotage.

These apprehensions are based on the number of printed posters put up clandestinely by the anti-India organizations in different parts of valley exhorting the people to revolt against "Indian occupation" and threatening the blasting of national highway.

All important State and central installations including the post and telegraph buildings, A.I.R, Doordarshan, power





houses, Government offices and other vital institutions are being guarded by the armed police including the men of CRPF. The authorities have alerted the Para-military forces like the CRPF and BSF. The additional police force has also been requisitioned from other parts of the State.

The intelligence agencies too have been directed to be on the guard and watch the movement of those connected with secessionist Organizations. The State authorities have already rounded up several activists of Jammat Islami, Jamaat Tulaba, People's League, Muhaz Azadi of Soofi Mohammed Akbar and other secessionist organizations. However, the supporters of Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq have not been touched in the present swoop on anti national elements reportedly initiated at the instance of New Delhi.

The security arrangements at the airport and other places have also been further tightened and the outgoing and incoming passengers are subjected to through screening.

Meanwhile a Jammu report said that the security arrangements in the border areas of Rajouri and Poonch where some cases of mysterious fires and bomb blast have taken place following the execution of Maqbool Butt, have been tightened. The security forces have sealed the borders to prevent any large scale infiltration from across. The vital installations in these areas are being guarded by armed policemen and additional force being dispatched to check any possible acts of sabotage.





Petition for the proper burial of Shaheed Maqbool Bhat

The Indian government thought that by hanging Shaheed Maqbool Bhat, they had silenced a lone voice of freedom for Kashmir. If they only knew that at that moment when Shaheed Maqbool Bhat raised his head in honor and closed his eyes in satisfaction as the noose of the gallows of Tihar jail were tightened, his victorious spirit was soaring over the nation of Kashmir and spreading out from generation to generation. The nobility of Maqbool was to brave the miseries of oppression us. Let us fortify our pledge that we will pursue the path that leads to our ultimate goal of freedom for Kashmir. And let us resolve that we will not fail in our endeavor.

REMEMBERING with deep anguish that Martyr MAQBOOL BHAT (Pioneer of Independent Kashmir Movement) was hanged by the Government of India at the infamous Tihar Jail, New Delhi, India on 11th February 1984.

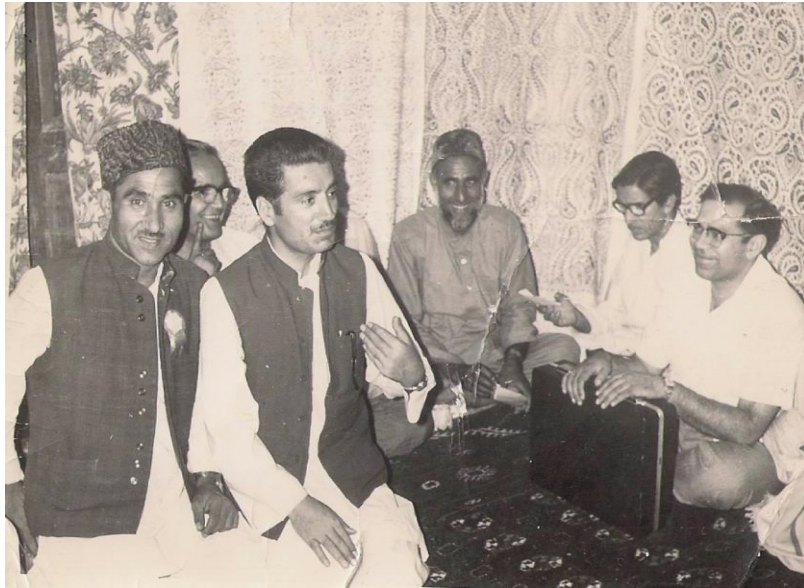
NOTING with deep grief that Martyr MAQBOOL BHAT's dead body was not handed-over to his relatives but buried in the grounds of Tihar Jail.

CONDEMNING the inhuman and degrading treatment and punishment to which Martyr MAQBOOL BHAT's dead body was subjected after his execution.

DEMANDING that the Government of India hand-over the remains of Martyr MAQBOOL BHAT so that he can be honourably buried at the Martyr's Graveyard at Srinagar, Kashmir.

URGING all the governments, the Secretary General of the United Nations and the High Commissioner for Human Rights to impress upon the Government of India to accede to the "Peoples' Demand" and return the body of **Martyr Maqbool Bhat** to the **Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front** for befitting burial.





Shaheed Maqbool Bhat in a meeting



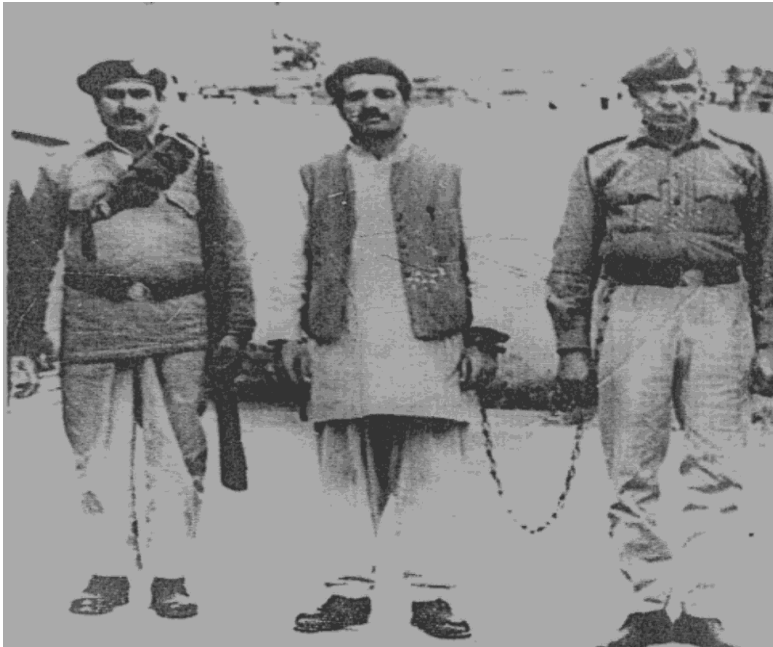
Shaheed Maqbool Bhat with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto





Addressing a meeting





Maqbool Butt in chains



Maqbool Butt with his friends after Ganga Highjack



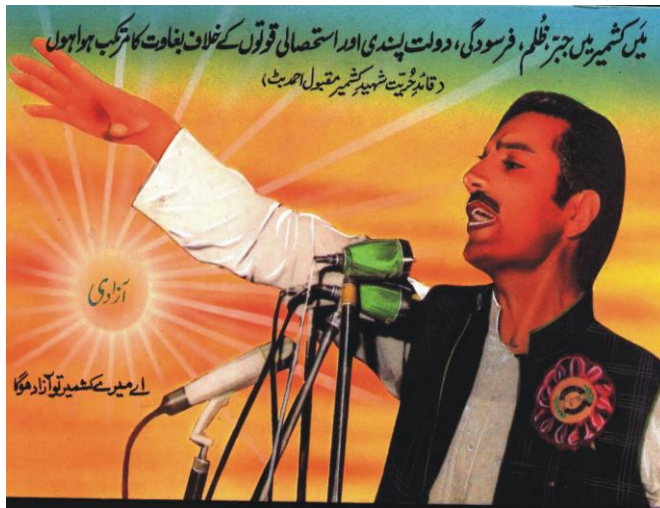


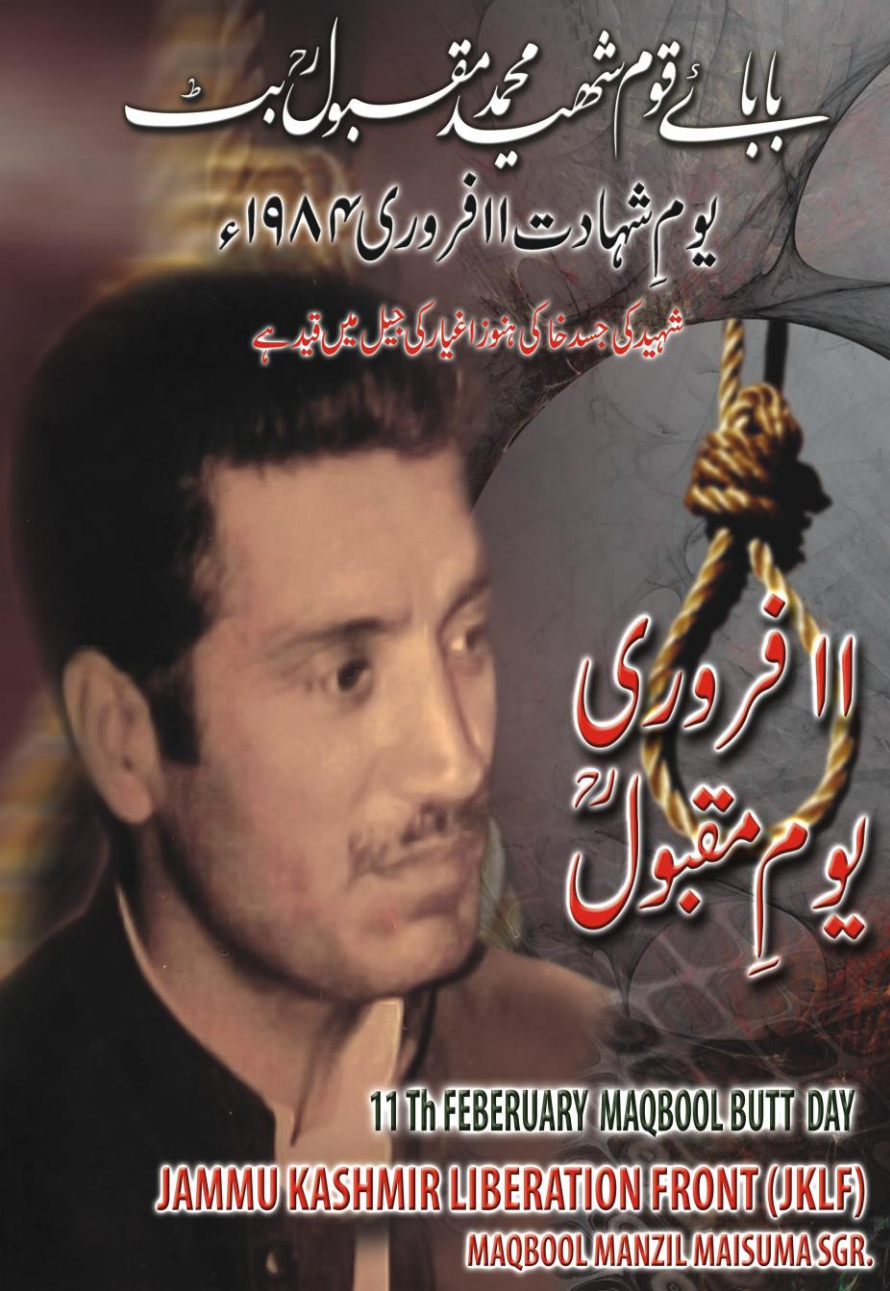
**MAQBOOL BUTT SHAHEED (Left) &
AMANULLAH KHAN in LAHORE - 1973**



***A Grave waiting for
SHAHEED
in Srinagar***





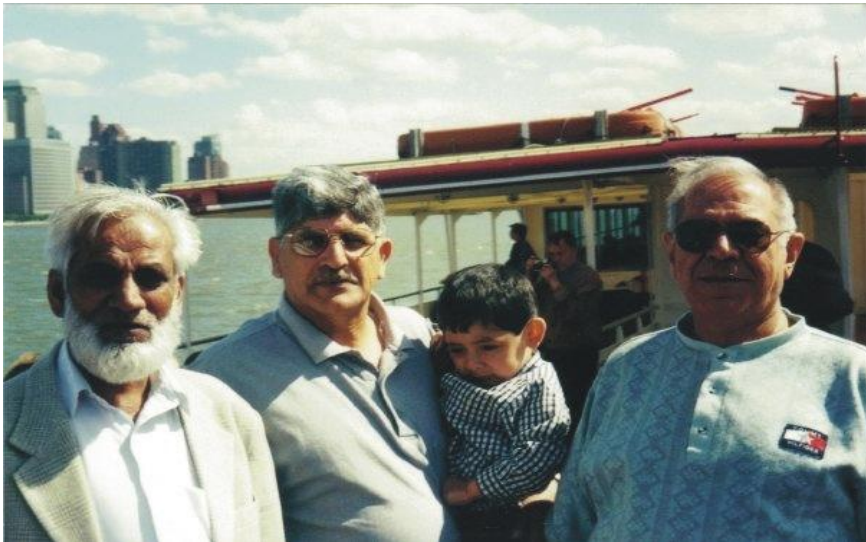


بابا قوم شہید محمد مقبولؒ
یوم شہادت ۱۱ فروری ۱۹۸۴ء
شہید کی جسدِ خاکی ہنوز اغیار کی جیل میں قید ہے

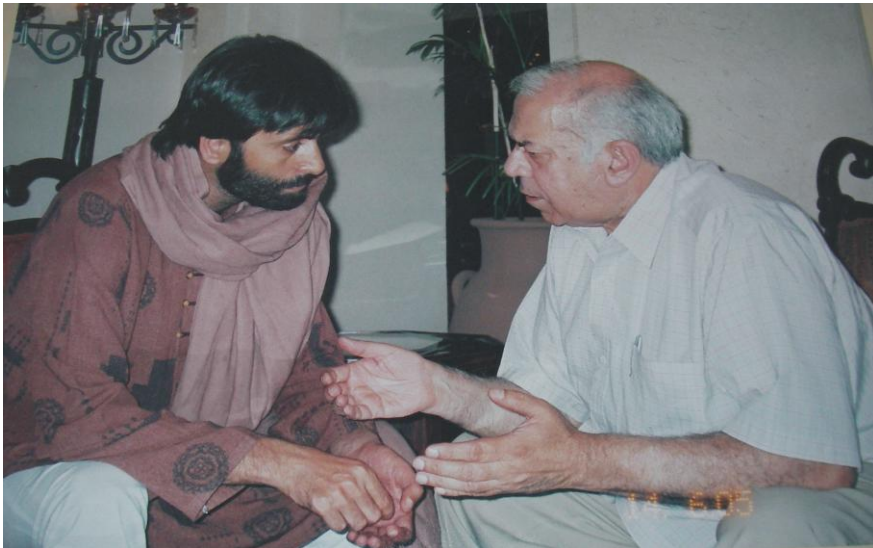
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11Th FEBERUARY MAQBOOL BUTT DAY
JAMMU KASHMIR LIBERATION FRONT (JKLF)
MAQBOOL MANZIL MAISUMA SGR.





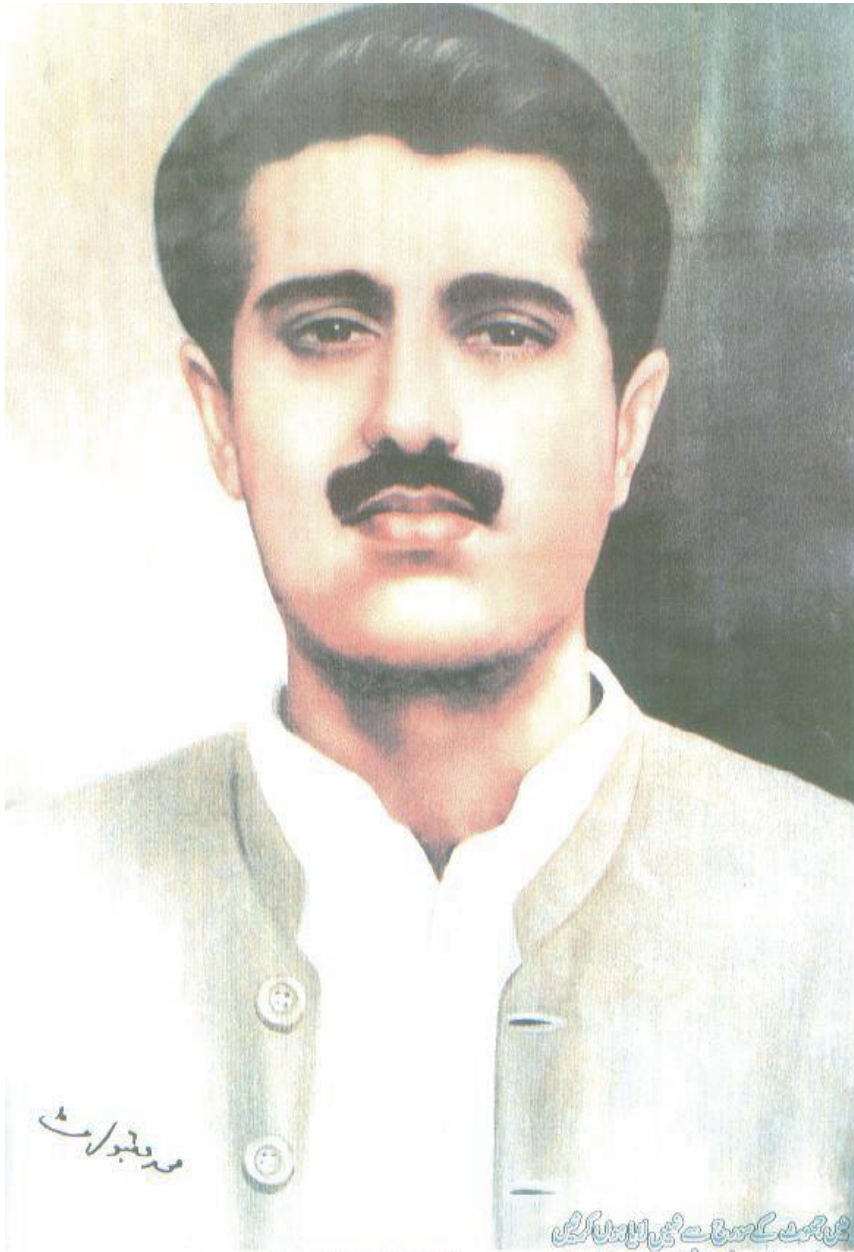
BAI QUSHTENS FAROOQ HYDER AND ZAFAR



**DR.FAROOQ HYDER MARHOOM GIVING IMPORATNT
TIPS TO YASIN MALIK**



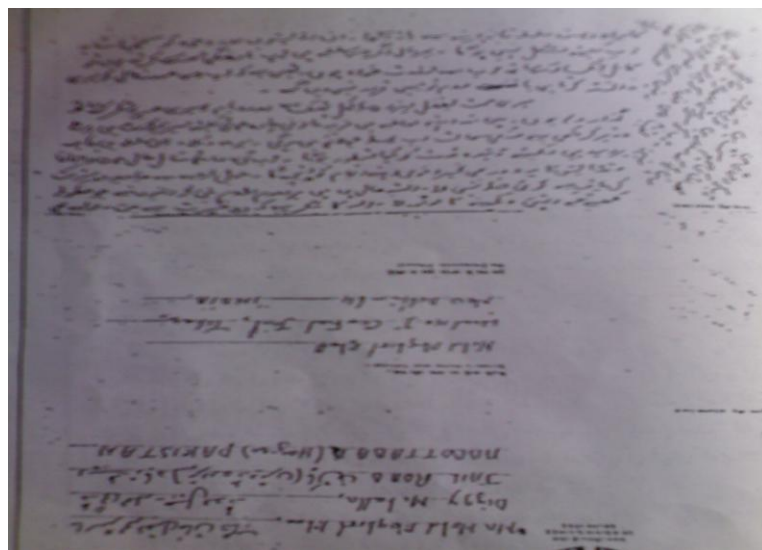




ASSISTED BY: KASIMUH BIKRANTHORA FOR ROSAID CHS, ISHAC PIAZZ, MURPHYZAKI

میں مجھ کے دوست تھی انہوں نے مجھے
میں انہوں نے مجھے







ANGLISH LETTER WRITTEN BY SAHEED

میل کلام سرور کے نام

My dear Ambassador,
This is to acknowledge your telegraphic message of greetings on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr. Thank you very much for the kind remembrance and expressions of love and good wishes. I cannot but appreciate your choice of remembering me on the auspicious occasion, which reiterates the offer of supreme sacrifice for our faith and ideals. History certainly does not offer a better example than the one of prophet Ibrahim to celestial man's devotion and dedication to the cause he cherishes as well as his perseverance, steadfast when on trial, in the pursuit of his beliefs. Given our weaknesses, we may not rise to such levels, yet we can surely follow in the footsteps of such great men at least according to our capacities. This, I think, is an obligation which no conscientious person, least of all from amongst our people, can afford to forget; for:-

بے شک! میں آپ کی دعاؤں کا شکریہ ادا کرتا ہوں۔



